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Southern Seminary --Child of Providence

SOUTHERN SEMINARY had much in common with displaced persons and war orphans when it moved to Louisville, in 1877.

Conceived, born, and nurtured through its tender years in Greenville, S. C., the struggling young institution almost perished in the aftermath of the War between the States.

Dr. John A. Broaddus, one of the four founders, gives a graphic picture of the war and post-war conditions in Greenville, in his "Memoir of James P. Boyce":

"The prospect (of keeping the Seminary alive) was sufficiently discouraging. The Seminary had practically nothing. A large part of the subscriptions for endowment had . . . been paid in Confederate money and invested in Confederate bonds, and so had become an utter loss. Fortunately there was no debt . . . But subscriptions remaining unpaid were now practically worthless. The whole land had been swept as by a cyclone . . . Almost all of those who had been wealthy before the war were now really poor, many of them burdened with old debts which had formerly seemed a trifle, but now, with accumulated interest, were a millstone around the neck of the impoverished planter or merchant . . . Numerous families, formerly prosperous, or at least comfortable, had not a dollar of money for many months after the close of the war."

God must have been directing the minds of the Seminary founders as they struck upon a plan of removing th institution to a section of the countr less devastated by war. There are man indications that God was in the choosin of Louisville for the new site.

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The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

ELLIS A. FULLER, President, Louisville, Kentucky

THE

Review and Expositor

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The Jerusalem Scrolls: Their Significance for Biblical Studies*

William H. Morton

The incredible has been accomplished! Until a few months ago, the general assumption of biblical scholars was in accord with the words of Sir Frederic Kenyon: "There is, indeed," said he, "no probability that we shall ever find manuscripts of the Hebrew text going back to a period before the formation of the text which we know as the Masoretic."[1] On April 11, 1948, however, Dr. Millar Burrows of Yale, who was then Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, officially announced the most phenomenal and significant discovery ever made in Old Testament manuscripts. An entire Hebrew scroll of Isaiah was found which antedated by nearly a millennium any complete Hebrew manuscript of an Old Testament book. Subsequently, the scholarly world was further startled by the announcement of additional scrolls which challenged the first in significance. Any appreciation of documents of such astonishing nature and antiquity must begin with a consideration of the providences accompanying their discovery and acquisition.

Discovery

The now famous Jerusalem Scrolls were discovered sometime in the early spring of 1947 when wandering Arab Bedouins chanced upon a partially collapsed cave high up in the cliffs near the northwestern corner of the Dead Sea.[2] There, from earthenware jars in which they had been concealed, the Bedouins removed some scrolls which had been wrapped in cloth and sealed with pitch. Soon afterward

they offered their finds to the Moslem Sheikh in Bethlehem for sale, but he, thinking that the manuscripts were in Syriac, referred them to the local Syrian community.[3] Information concerning the existence of the scrolls was soon relayed to Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, Metropolitan of St. Mark's Syrian Orthodox Convent in Jerusalem. Thus it was, in April, 1947, that news of these manuscripts first came to the man who was to have so much to do with their future disposition.

The providences that pursued these documents from this time until they were acquired by the Syrian Convent and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, are sometimes veiled in secrecy and often tinged with irony. Except for the unfortunate misunderstanding of a Syrian priest, all the scrolls would have come to the Jerusalem Convent; but for the subsequent glibness of a Syrian merchant, the Convent would probably have received none of them at all; except for the negligence of some library workers, the Syrian corpus of scrolls would probably have been entrusted to the Hebrew University for publication; but for the Jewish-Arab disturbances in Jerusalem, the University might have succeeded in purchasing the Syrian group.[4]

Similar irony surrounds the attempt on the part of the Syrian Metropolitan to gain scholarly recognition of the antiquity of his scrolls. The chief incident in this connection concerns the pronouncement of Professor van der Ploeg. It was he who first identified the largest scroll as the Book of Isaiah. He neglected to press the matter, however, when his distinguished colleagues of the Ecole Biblique branded the documents as forgeries and his suggestion, therefore, preposterous.[5] Though the entire story is intriguing in the extreme, space forbids its presentation here. Suffice it to note at this point, however, that the Syrian share of the scrolls was finally entrusted into the hands of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for study and identification. The events involved in this process are charged with all the thrill of discovering that one is face to face with the non-existent.[6] On February 19, Father

Butros Sowmy and his brother, Ibrahim, first brought the scrolls to the American School for brief examination. Since Dr. Burrows, Director of the School, was in Iraq at the time, the task of identification fell upon two Fellows of the School —John C. Trever and Wm. H. Brownlee. A comparison of the script of the scrolls with some slides of early Hebrew manuscripts revealed a remarkable similarity to the Nash Papyrus—a small pre-Christian fragment of Deuteronomy containing the *Shema* and the Ten Commandments. This similarity supplied the first real clue to their great antiquity. Since no provision for photographing the scrolls for study had yet been made, Dr. Trever was granted permission to copy a few lines of the largest scroll before it was returned that afternoon to the Convent. As soon as the Syrians had left, Dr. Trever eagerly began work on the copied passage. It proved to be Isaiah 65:1, word for word! Stimulated by the thrill of this discovery, Trever hastened to the Convent the following morning. A further look at the Isaiah scroll revealed such evidences of authenticity as the appearance of insertions in three separate hands. Before leaving, Trever again copied a few lines, this time from the beginning of the manuscript. His excitement know no bounds when later study revealed them to be Isaiah 1:1— the manuscript was complete!

The work of repairing, photographing, and studying the scrolls began when they were returned to the American School on Saturday, February 21. The feverish activities of the next few days were beset by the difficulties of failing electrical power, inadequate photographic supplies, hazardous transportation, and uncertain communications in a city split into two hostile camps. Though this constitutes an interesting aspect of the story, suffice it here to say that this work was accomplished only by the untiring efforts of Trever and Brownlee, together with the full co-operation of the Syrian Fathers.

In addition to the Isaiah scroll, one was identified by Brownlee as being a commentary on Habakkuk, two of them fitted together to form the one manuscript which is now

called the Sectarian Document, and a fourth scroll was in such a poor state of preservation that no attempt was then made to unroll it. On February 28, Dr. Burrows returned to the School from Iraq and further study of the documents proceeded under his direction.

Meanwhile, some prints from the Isaiah scroll had been forwarded to Professor Albright, the scholar who established the date of the Nash Papyrus on the basis of paleographic evidences. His characteristically enthusiastic reply, received on March 15, reads as follows: "My heartiest congratulations on the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times! There is no doubt in my mind that the script is more archaic than that of the Nash Papyrus . . . I should prefer a date around 100 B.C. . . . What an absolutely incredible find! And there can happily not be the slightest doubt in the the world about the genuineness of the manuscript."[7] Being thus bolstered in their belief in the antiquity of the scrolls, the scholars at the American School informed the Syrian Fathers of the true significance of their treasure, and a news release was prepared.

By the end of March, 1948, Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine had reached such a degree of tension that it was necessary for the members of the American School to make hurried preparations for departure. Final information that the documents had been removed to a place of safety outside Palestine enabled them to leave with the assurance that all possible precautions had been taken for the preservation of the documents for future publication.

One final regret remained. Prevailing conditions in Palestine had made it too dangerous to attempt an archaeological investigation of the cave in which the original discovery was made. Thus, the "final chapter that would have completed the story of one of the 'greatest manuscript discoveries of modern times' "[8] remained to be written.

During the interlude of war that followed the end of the British Mandate (May 15, 1948), Professor Sukenik carried on his study of the Hebrew University's scrolls. By early autumn he published, in his volume *Megilloth*

Genuzoth, a preliminary survey of portions of the documents in his possession. Ironically, he was able to include also, from some columns copied during his unsuccessful negotiations to secure the Syrian scrolls, the text of Isaiah 42-43 before the American School could present any part of this document in the United States.

By late winter of 1948, travel restrictions in Palestine had sufficiently relaxed to permit the long awaited examination of the manuscript cave. This excavation was carried out during February and early March under the direction of G. L. Harding, acting head of the Palestine Museum, and with the collaboration of Pere R. de Vaux, director of the French Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. Professor Sellers, then Director of the American School in Jerusalem, visited the excavation on two different occasions and has given an account of the proceedings.[9] He reports that the digging was largely done with knives and fingers, and that the procedure was complicated by the work of unauthorized excavators who secretly disturbed the cave the previous November in a vain search for additional scrolls.[10]

The recoveries from the cave consist of hundreds of manuscript fragments, some of which clearly belong to the known scrolls; a considerable portion of one entire scroll; a large quantity of broken pottery; and some pieces of cloth to which bits of manuscripts were attached, indicating that they had been used to wrap and protect the scrolls. With the exception of three lamps and a cooking pot, the pottery consists entirely of fragments of jars in which the scrolls were stored, and of shallow bowls which apparently served as covers for the jars.

These hundreds of manuscript fragments gleaned by Harding and deVaux from the excavation of the cave are being studied in the British Museum and the Ecole Biblique, which, with the Hebrew University and the American Schools of Oriental Research, make four different groups participating in the study of the original documents. The Syrian-owned scrolls, which, in the interest of safety, were removed from Palestine in the Spring of 1948, were brought

to the United States in February of this year (1949). Here they were offered for sale, and the evaluation mentioned in this connection was the astounding sum of $1,000,000.—perhaps twice as much if the fourth scroll was discovered to be a biblical book. This would far eclipse the $500,000. paid by the British Museum in 1933 for Codex Sinaiticus.

An interesting sidelight in this connection is that when the British general public learned of these sensational finds only a few days ago (August 9, 1949), Professor G. R. Driver of Oxford University published a complaint that those handling the texts in the United States had very little experience in such matters, and that only the British Museum was qualified to handle them.[11] One cannot help recalling an amusing parallel to this situation which developed in 1872 when an extremely self-satisfied French Orientalist challenged the right of the young Englishman, George Smith, to publish the Assyrian Deluge Tablets, on the basis that Smith was no scholar and that the tablets should rightfully have come to the French. The British indignity at such an arrogant claim is matched only by our amusement at theirs.

Although the full extent of this fabulous cache of Hebrew documents has not yet been determined, the following assessment represents the present state of our knowledge. In the Syrian corpus of scrolls, now being studied by the American School of Oriental Research, are included five scrolls, comprising four separate documents, and an unannounced number of fragments. [12] The four large documents have been recognized as a complete scroll of Isaiah; a fragmentary commentary on the Book of Habakkuk; a complete "Sectarian Document," which was a sort of manual of discipline for a small sect within Judaism; and a poorly preserved Aramaic scroll, which at first could not be unrolled, but which Albright has since discovered to be similar in content to the First or Ethiopian Book of Enoch.[13] The only important fragments of the Syrian corpus which have yet been announced are three scraps of the Book of Daniel, which, incidentally, represent two different editions of that book.[14]

The share of the documents now in the possession of the Hebrew University consists of five[15] scrolls and a bundle of fragments. One of these scrolls contains a fairly well preserved work of an eschatological nature which Sukenik has entitled "The War of the Children of Light Against the Children of Darkness." Three others are but separated portions of one literary work—a collection of thanksgiving hymns styled somewhat after the order of the biblical thanksgiving psalms. These two works were previously unknown and no suggestion of their existence has ever been discovered in any historical reference.[16] No identification of the fifth scroll and the various fragments has yet been announced.

Pere de Vaux is making a study of the many fragments gleaned by Harding and himself in their excavation of the cave. He has thus far identified bits of Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Judges, and one fragment of what he believes to be the original Hebrew Jubilees. An interesting feature of the Leviticus fragment is that it contains part of the Holiness Code written in an archaic script resembling that of the seventh-sixth century B.C. Siloam and Lachish inscriptions. Whether this fragment is the most ancient of the group or whether it represents an archaizing attempt of a later scribe is a matter for paleographic determination.[17] Albright thinks it may be a first century B.C. text in the archaizing Samaritan tradition.[18]

These fragments suggest that at least some of the scrolls from which they were broken were originally present in the cave.[19] That more of them may yet appear is not at all improbable since the Bedouins who made the original discovery may have held back some for future sale. In fact, a June 19 dispatch to the *New York Times* by Mr. Brewer of Amman, Jordon, reports that Mr. Harding, the excavator of the cave, "is convinced that at least one scroll and perhaps more were found, besides the eight already known, and that they are probably still in existence."[20] Information of this same nature was supplied by Trever in October, 1948, when he wrote that the Syrians were "negotiating the pur-

chase of two more scrolls, apparently from the same source."[21]

Description

The nature and description of some of the more important of these scrolls will now be considered in more detail. Standing at the head of the list, both from the standpoint of size and interest for students of the Bible, is the manuscript of Isaiah. This parchment scroll, with its fifty-four columns (23.75 ft.) of beautifully preserved Hebrew script, contains the entire Book of of Isaiah (except for a few minor omissions and lacunae) in a form which is in remarkable agreement with the traditional Masoretic Text. There are numerous variations to be sure. Those of orthography and morphology, however, do not alter the actual wording. For example, a long form of spelling results from the free use of consonants to indicate vowels in the absence of a system of "pointing." Unusual grammatical forms, involving verbs, pronouns, and suffixes, are also frequently noted.[22]

Professor Burrows' study of the actual variant readings[23] reveals that in addition to minor omissions and additions and the typical scribal errors, there are numerous variations resulting from changes in inflection and style, subsitution of synonyms, addition of corrections and emendations, and a rather haphazard representation of the Tetragrammaton.[24] Our manuscript sometimes supports the Masoretic Text against the Versions, and at other times is in agreement with the Versions against the Masoretic Text. Likewise, proposed Masoretic emendations are sometimes disputed by our text, and in other instances they are strikingly confirmed. Though there is evidence of three correctors' hands,[25] there is no addition, omission, or dislocation of text that can be considered of major significance. None of the latest canonical passages are missing from the text of our scroll.[26]

In matters of mechanics, also, there are many divergent features.[27] Letters are hung below the line instead of being set upon it. Though words are carefully separated, there

are, of course, no verse and chapter divisions. Sentences are sometimes separated by spaces and paragraphs are indicated by new beginnings at the margin. The latter are usually not indented, however, unless the previous line is full. Some unfamiliar marginal markings occur, which may represent sectarian reading aids. Chapter forty is distinguished from thirty-nine only by a new, unindented paragraph and the presence of one of the marginal symbols.[28]

The Sectarian Document, consisting of eleven columns (6 ft. 1¼ in.) of clear Hebrew text, is the second largest scroll in the American School corpus. It is exceedingly well-preserved, and was in two tight rolls when first received. Though from the same period as the Isaiah scroll, it is quite obviously by another hand. Sentences are separated by spaces, and new paragraphs are usually indented. Marginal symbols occur resembling those already mentioned as appearing in Isaiah.[29]

This scroll was so named because it is considered a manual of discipline of some small sect of Judaism. There is ample evidence from the other manuscripts that they, too, belonged to this same Jewish sect. Just who they were has not yet been determined. The apocalyptic tendencies of our scrolls, plus their discovery in the Dead Sea region, make the Essenes a natural suggestion. Our scanty knowledge of this sect, however, lends little support to this conjecture.[30] A second suggestion, with more support, attributes our scrolls to a sect related to the one which produced the Damascus Document.[31] Whatever their identity, "the community clearly regards itself as the real people of Israel. The sons of Aaron, the Levites, and the whole people of Israel all have their place, and the group is assumed to be numerous."[32]

Our document opens with a series of exhortations or promises couched in terminology reflecting the language of Deuteronomy. According to Professor Burrows,[33] they are probably promises which constitute an oath of initiation for those who would "enter into the covenant" of the sect or, perhaps, of Israel as a whole. A ritual of initiation apparent-

ly follows. "The priests recount the blessings which follow obedience to the laws, and those who are entering the covenant say 'Amen'; then the Levites recount the curses on disobedience, and again the initiates respond, as in Deuteronomy, ch. 27." [34] The final portion of the scroll specifies the penalties to be inflicted for violation of community rules—explusion or temporary suspension being most commonly imposed.

The Habakkuk Commentary is the smallest of the scrolls in the American School corpus. It contains thirteen columns of beautifully distinct Hebrew writing, though the five-foot scroll itself has suffered considerably from the ravages of worms. The end of the document is complete, but the damaged beginning permits the possibility of an original introductory column.[35] This manuscript stands second to the Isaiah scroll in proximity to the Bible, for it contains two chapters of biblical text plus the accompanying commentary materials. It has been suggested[36] that "midrash" is a more appropriate designation of the nature of this work than commentary, but Professor Zeitlin has pointed out that it has none of the definitive characteristics of midrash.[37] Dr. W. H. Brownlee, however, who identified and translated the document,[38] has conceded that there is some merit to the alternate suggestion, and has described the scroll as "a commentary upon Habakkuk which employs midrashic principles of exegesis."[39]

The procedure employed by the author may be generally stated as follows: brief citations of the text of Habakkuk are followed by explanatory comments, which are characteristically introduced by such expressions as "Its meaning is," and "Its meaning concerns." In his explanations, the author interprets these biblical quotations relative to his own day and sect; and prevalent throughout is an underlying emphasis upon judgment and upon the struggle between the forces of good and evil. The latter are symbolized by the *Kittiim*—perhaps to be interpreted as the Greeks.[40] Many textual references are interpreted by the commentator as alluding to a "Teacher of Righteousness," who was ap-

parently the founder of the sect,[41] and whose mission was "to give the meaning of all the words of His (God's) servants the prophets."[42] He was opposed by the "Wicked Priest," who rebelled against the statutes of God. The author apparently believed that prophetic reference to both characters was to be found in Habakkuk 1:4.[43] A cryptic comment on 1:13b censors the "house of Absalom" for failing to render assistance to the "Righteous Teacher" against the "Man of the Lie." In Brownlee's opinion, this is a symbolical allusion to "a party which lived up to the name of Absalom who rebelled against his father."[44] Freedman and Ginsberg, on the other hand, think that the pertinent expression refers to "the actual name of a family which played an important role in the history of the sect."[45] Such semi-allegorical procedure may, through its allusions, assist in identifying the sect that produced the document; but it is a far cry from today's historical-critical method. The intentional closing of the commentary at the end of Habukkuk II,[46] however, will not go unnoticed by those with critical interests.

The largest of the scrolls at the Hebrew University is the "War Scroll," which is approximately nine and one-half feet long and contains nineteen columns of script. Neither the title of the work nor the name of the author has been preserved, but, from the nature of its contents, Sukenik has entitled it "The Scroll of the War of the Children of Light Against the Children of Darkness."[47] The "children of light" in this warfare are Levitic, Judahite, and Benjamite Jews. The opposing "children of darkness" include the inhabitants of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Philistia, and the Kittites of Assyria.

This scroll gives a detailed description of the Jewish military formations and procedures, battle flags and their slogans, trumpet calls and their significance, weapons of war, and types of troops. The religious motivation of the war is indicated by the character of the banners displayed, and by the significant role of the chief priest in directing the Jewish host. It is interesting to note that several biblical expressions are incorporated into the chief priest's prayer

on behalf of the nation. It is also of considerable interest that they are drawn primarily from the later portions of Isaiah, particularly, chapter sixty. The celebrations following the attainment of victory on the field of battle include a beautiful hymn of thanksgiving to be sung by the assembled host.[48] The above material is clearly a product of our Jewish religious sect. At first it appeared to be merely their *halakah* for the conduct of battle; recent information from Dr. Sukenik, however, gives evidence rather of its eschatological character.[49]

Sukenik's second document consists of three separate, poorly preserved sheets of parchment. The twelve columns of writing thereon proved to be a collection of thanksgiving hymns, which he appropriately entitled "Scrolls of Thanksgiving Songs."[50] The two of these hymns which have been published appear to Ginsberg to be appropriate "for the individual survivor of a battle with the enemies of the children of God's covenant." He therefore suggests that the "Hymns of Thanksgiving" may possibly be a continuation of the "War Scroll."[51] However this may be, it is certain that these songs show definite familiarity with the later psalms of the biblical Psalter, both from the standpoint of style and of phraseology. Direct borrowings from O. T. phrases are numerous, and occasionally an entire line will be paralleled. On the other hand, the tenor and background of these hymns are indicative of later times.[52] Professor Baumgartner[53] notes, also, that they lack many of the characteristics of O. T. psalms which are still evident in the late psalms of Sirach and Solomon.

DATE

Paleographic evidence. The date of the scrolls was first tentatively set at near the close of the pre-Christian era on the basis of paleographic considerations. As previously noted, comparison with the Nash Papyrus from the Maccabean period (167-37 B.C.) provided the clue to the degree of their antiquity. Professor Albright, in his preliminary observations on the Isaiah scroll, declared its script to be unques-

tionably older than the Nash Papyrus, the date of which he himself established.[54] He does not believe that the Isaiah script can be later than about 100 B.C., and thinks there is strong probability that it belongs to the latter half of the second pre-Christian century.[55] The Habakkuk roll he finds to be relatively later than the Nash fragment, and prefers for it a date in the second half of the first century B.C.[56]

Dr. S. A. Birnbaum of the University of London, one of the ablest of present-day Hebrew paleographers, has also made a careful paleographic comparison of the Isaiah and Habakkuk scrolls with Hebrew-Aramaic scripts of the period prior to Masoretic standardization.[57] He recognized quite easily that neither of these scrolls could be as early as the third century Jewish documents from Egypt, nor could they be as late as the Dura Fragment from before 256 B.C. Having thus bracketed the area of examination to the four-century period from 200 B.C.-200 A.D., he was able to limit his comparison to the following documents: "the third century Egyptian documents, the Tobias Inscription of 183-175 B.C., the Gezer Boundary Stones of the 100-63 B.C.E., the Ossuaries of between the later first century B.C.E. and the first half of the first century C.E., the Uzziah Plaque of 37 B.C.E.-44 C.E., and the Queen Helen Inscription of the second half of the first century C.E."[58] On the basis of these very careful comparisons he concluded that the Isaiah scroll was written in the first half of the second century B.C., and that the Habakkuk Commentary dates from the first half of the first century B.C.[59] It should be noted that the results of this study are in substantial agreement with the dates proposed by Albright, even though the Nash Papyrus was not used for purposes of comparison.

Dr. J. C. Trever has made a more extensive study involving the entire group of scrolls in the American School corpus.[60] His paleographic comparison of the various scripts within this group causes him to classify them into two separate schools. The earlier school is represented by the Isaiah scroll and the slightly later Sectarian Document; the second group is composed of the Habakkuk Commentary, the

Aramaic Fourth scroll, and the Isaiah insertions[61]—all dating from about the same period.[62]

In the second division of his study Trever attempts to date these scrolls by comparing them with previously known, pre-Masoretic materials. He takes as his *terminus post quem* Albright's class IV,[63] which includes the third century B.C. Edfu papyri; his *terminus ante quem* is the Dura Fragment from before 256 A.D. Using then the Edfu, Nash, and Aramaic documents of approximately the last century and a half of the Second Temple, and utilizing the same general procedure as did Birnbaum, he arrives at the following conclusions. The Isaiah scroll he places about 125-100 B.C.; for the next oldest, the Sectarian Document, he prefers a date around 75 B.C.; and the Habukkuk Commentary, Aramaic Fourth scroll, and Isaiah insertions (especially cols. 32 and 33) are thought to fall in the period from 25 B.C.-25 A.D. Here again the dates are in substantial agreement with the studies above, though Albright would revise them upward 25-50 years in the direction of the earlier dates suggested by Birnbaum.[64]

Professor Sukenik has made a less detailed comparison of his scrolls with some of the relevant inscriptional material —primarily the Nash Papyrus and certain ossuary inscriptions of the first century A.D.[65] His conclusions are, in general, those of Albright, Birnbaum, and Trever.

Such a wealth of paleographic evidence would seem to corroborate the early date of the scrolls beyond cavil; however, there are dissenters. Professor Torczyner of the Hebrew University states that the manuscripts cannot be earlier than the third century A.D.;[66] and Professor Lacheman of Wellesley College thinks that they are certainly later than Edfu, Dura, and Nash, the last of which he places in the second century A.D.[67] He further criticizes the paleographic procedure of Albright, Birnbaum, and Trever as unreliable because of their use of scripts of all kinds and dates, many of which seem to him to be irrelevant to the development of the square Hebrew script.[68]

The most persistent and vociferous cudgel-carrier for the

exponents of a late date for the scrolls is Solomon Zeitlin of Dropsie College. His opposition to an early paleographical dating is made on the basis of the following charges: (1) that paleography is an unreliable criterion for dating purposes;[69] (2) that specimens of writing from the period of the Second Commonwealth are unfortunately meager;[70] (3) that paleographic comparisons reckoned on the basis of a Maccabean dating for the Nash Papyrus are unreliable;[71] (4) that the characters of the scrolls are similar to those of the early medieval Damascus and Fostat Documents;[72] and (5) that Talmudic and Midrashic descriptions of the forms of Hebrew letters lead to the conclusion that the scrolls are later than the second or third century A.D.[73]

In meeting the first charge, Albright has effectively demonstrated the scientific reliability of paleographic dating, and in the same discussion has supplied evidence answering Lacheman's criticism of the use of teleconnections.[74] Burrows, in response to charge number two, has pointed out that there are quite enough documents from the period of the Second Temple for our purposes.[75] Charge number three is contrary to the best present-day paleographic opinion. The Nash Papyrus is only one of the several documents employed for comparison, and Birnbaum reached his conclusions without its benefits. Concerning number four, the alleged similarities of the scrolls to the Damascus and Fostat Documents, Albright insists that no one acquainted with paleographic principles can see any similarity between the key characters of our scrolls and the script of Zeitlin's medieval manuscripts;[76] Burrows also makes it plain that the affinities between our scrolls and the Damascus Document are resemblances of content rather than script;[77] and Kahle and Birnbaum, both experts in medieval Hebrew manuscripts, reject the possibility that our scrolls could be that late.[78] Some medieval cursive scripts do resemble our scrolls in some respects, but this is an improper comparison; when medieval literary script is used for comparison, a great difference is obvious.[79] Zeitlin's fifth charge carries very little weight. Talmudic and Midrashic descriptions of He-

brew characters can hardly be considered on a par for paleographic purposes with visual comparisons with contemporary documents.

In an additional charge against the above results of paleography, Professor Zeitlin is in reality appealing to the kindred science of orthography. He infers, on the basis of certain passages in the Talmud, that the final or double letters of the Hebrew alphabet (*kaph, mem, nun, pe, sade*) did not come into vogue until the second half of the second century A.D. Since these final letters do occur in our manuscripts, he insists that the scrolls must be late.[80] This is a rather strange claim in view of the fact that final forms of these letters appear in the third century B.C. papyri from Edfu, the Maccabean Nash Papyrus, and the Uzziah and certain ossuary inscriptions from near the beginning of the Christian era—all antedating the period assigned by Zeitlin for the introduction of final forms.[81] It is also interesting in this connection that C. Yalon, in a recent study which was also based on Talmudic evidence, concludes that the five final Hebrew forms were already in use by the middle of the first Christian century.[82] Thus Zeitlin has quite clearly been outmanned and outgunned on paleographic grounds. However, as Burrows has so aptly phrased it, "He renders at least the Socratic service of the gadfly."[83]

Internal evidence. Inasmuch as only fragments of the scrolls have yet been published, knowledge of their contents is beset by many uncertainties. However, several arguments have been advanced on the basis of internal evidence that are deserving of our consideration. As previously indicated, Sukenik's "War Scroll" deals with a war between certain Jewish "children of light" and certain "children of darkness," among whom are mentioned inhabitants of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and the "Kittites of Assyria." The scroll also contains a reference to the "Kittites of Egypt." Sukenik infers that the terms "Kittites of Assyria" and "Kittites of Egypt" refer respectively to the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Greeks, and thereby date the scroll in the Hellenistic period.[84] Ginsberg agrees with this interpretation of

the terms and points out that the commonplace reference to Macedonians as *Kittim* by Jews of the Greek Age was occasioned by their interpretation of Numbers 24:24 so as to apply to their own day.[85] He adds, further, that such evidence is in perfect harmony with the Habakkuk Commentary's identification of the Chaldeans of Habakkuk 1:6 with the "Kittim"; and that "it all goes to show that even the Roman age, let alone the Byzantine and Arab ages, is beyond the horizon of the sect's founders."[86]

These considerations have influenced Ginsberg to infer with Sukenik that the division of Alexander's empire after his death in 323 B.C. constitutes the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the document, and that the undepressable *terminus ante quem* is the extinction of the Seleucid kingdom in 63 B.C. [87]

The interesting speculation that our scroll arose in the Maccabean portion of the bracket indicated above is suggested by the fact that the Maccabees actually did fight with "Edom (= Idumea), Moab and the children of Ammon (= Nabateans and Hellenistic cities of Transjordan), Philistia (= Helenistic cities of Azotus, etc.), and the Kittites of Assyria (= Seleucid Macedonians and Greeks)."[88] Albright joins Seeligmann in giving further emphasis to the probability that the new texts reflect the struggle against the Maccabees, by pointing out that their "unduly secularized, worldly and violent policy of conquest aroused the fiercest resistance among their religious subjects."[89]

Zeitlin, however, comes to quite an opposite conclusion. He points out that the Seleucids were never referred to as kings of Assyria in any branch of literature contemporary with the period of the Second Commonwealth. That the terms "Assyria" and "Egypt" were used during the Middle Ages as designations of Rome he finds indicated in certain passages from the Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan. Consequently, he concludes that our scroll is a very late document, whose theme was probably suggested by medieval messianic speculations on Numbers 24.[90]

A further item in Sukenik's argument that his "War

Scroll" is pre-Hasmonean is its use of the term *kohen haro'sh*, "the chief priest," rather than the Hasmonean designation, *hakohen hagadol*, "the high priest." The former term, he believes, was not in use after the Hasmonean period.[91] Zeitlin again expresses an opposing point of view; he insists that the *terminus ante quem* for the use of *kohen harosh* must be pushed back to the Restoration,[92] thereby rendering Sukenik's argument of no significance. His own suggestion, based on the reappearance of the term in the Middle Ages, is that our document is likewise medieval.[93]

A third bit of internal evidence has been advanced in behalf of an early date for our documents by Professor Burrows on the basis of certain striking similiarities of expression existing between the Habakkuk and Sectarian scrolls and the Damascus Document, the original composition of which is generally considered to be early. For example, the fact that the phrase "righteous teacher" is used in the same sense by both the Habakkuk Commentary and the Damascus Document indicates to Dr Burrows a period prior to the destruction of the Temple for the composition of the Commentary.[94] Zeitlin objects that the phrase was unknown in the literature of the period of the Second Commonwealth; that the Damascus Document is medieval; and that the Jews had no need for, and hence did not write, commentaries on biblical books in the period before the destruction of the Temple.[95] Neither side of the argument here is of any particular force due to the extreme uncertainty surrounding the date of the Damascus Document.[96]

The usage of Divine names in our manuscripts is an extremely interesting feature, and one which has been seized upon as indicating lateness of date. It has been noticed that *El* is quite uniformly used in these documents to designate God, but never *Yahweh* or *Adonai*—except in citations of biblical texts, in which case the form there appearing is faithfully reproduced. This practice is most obvious in the Habakkuk Commentary, where text and explanation are in close association. According to Zeitlin, the names *Yahweh* and *Adonai* were in vogue during the Second Common-

wealth, as witnessed by certain post-exilic canonical books as well as the pertinent apocryphal literature. Toward the close of this period, *Adonai* was regularly substituted for *Yahweh* in both pronunciation and writing. Subsequent to the destruction of the Temple, *Adonai*, too, was regarded too sacred for common usage, and certain equivalents were substituted in Jewish writings. The same sanctity, however, was not attached to the term *El*, which was used without apprehension even in the Middle Ages. Zeitlin argues, therefore, that the avoidance of *Yahweh* and *Adonai* in the non-biblical portions of our documents, plus their uniform usage of *El*, obviates a pre-Christian dating and locates them in the Middle Ages, where such procedure was commonly practiced.[97]

A quite similar type of argument is derived from the fact that Sukenik's "War Scroll" refers to the Jews as "Israel," but never as "Judeans." This, says Zeitlin, is contrary to the terminology of known Second Commonwealth literature, in which the name Judeans is prevalent. He claims that it was after the destruction of the Temple that Israel was substituted for Judeans as a designation for Jews; hence, he infers that our scroll must be dated subsequent to that period.[98]

From such considerations as the above, together with the apocalyptic nature of some of our manuscripts, there has arisen sharp disagreement among scholars concerning whether the contents of our documents fit satisfactorily into the picture of pre-Christian Jewish literature which is painted by apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings. However, it should be remarked at this point that Zeitlin's arguments are of a negative nature, and it seems extremely hazardous to hold, in view of the almost complete absence of Hebrew documents from the Maccabean Age, that certain terms and expressions in our documents should not have been in use at that time. The internal evidence is at best inconclusive; we anticipate more certainty in the following consideration of the pottery.

Ceramic evidence. The evidence supplied by the exca-

vation of the manuscript cave wholly substantiates the paleographic findings, and has been rather conclusive in its bearing on the antiquity and authenticity of the scrolls. The pottery, which has been previously described, is now in the Palestine Museum where it is being assembled. Professor Sellers viewed it there and recognized it to be identical with the latest characteristic pottery of Beth-zur,[9] which was abandoned in the early first century B.C. He thereupon pronounced it to be uniformly late Hellenistic, with the exception of parts of a Roman lamp and cooking pot.[100] Harding and de Vaux, the excavators of the cave and each an expert pottery chronologist, agree with Sellers' late Hellenistic dating, i.e., in the last two centuries B.C.[101] Albright has expressed himself on the matter by saying that "since the Beth-zur phase of Hellenistic pottery preceded the first Roman phase, characteristic of the last century of the Second Temple, it follows that none of the Scrolls can be later than about 50-25 B.C.E."[102] This date he terms an "irreducible minimum" and further calls attention to the striking fact that the ceramic evidence now imposes a date for the Habakkuk Commentary and its congeners (near the beginning of the Herodian Age) which is approximately the same as that derived from a consideration of evidences from other sources.[103] Sellers comes to the same positive conclusion when he says, "There is no doubt now about the authenticity and antiquity of the manuscripts; for the archaeological evidence confirms the views of those who had pronounced the manuscripts pre-Christian from the epigraphic and literary evidence. They were deposited in the cave not later than the first century B.C., and some of them must have been considerably older than the jars in which they were placed.[104]

The picture is complicated somewhat, however, by the presence of the Roman lamp and cooking pot, for they must be dated considerably later than the homogeneous Hellenistic pottery. To both Albright and Sellers they indicate a visit to the cave (perhaps in the third century A.D.) by someone who may have removed some of the scrolls.[105] The

possibility has been suggested that the Roman visitor was Origen or the person from whom he secured some of his manuscripts.[106] While this is pure speculation, it is interesting to note that Origen does make mention of the discovery of Greek and Hebrew manuscripts found stored in jars in the neighborhood of Jericho. According to Cross, "this transpired in the reign of Antoninus, the son of Severus, called Caracalla (198-217 A.D.). One of these manuscripts, a Greek edition of the Psalms, apparently, was used by Origen in the preparation of his famous Hexapla."[107]

A summary of the testimony of the three criteria involved in the dating of our documents reveals that though the internal evidence is inconclusive, pottery and paleography unite in pointing quite definitely to the Maccabean Age. We conclude, therefore, that the scrolls are from the last two pre-Christian centuries, and that they justify the sensation which their discovery has created. Being thus convinced of their early date and authenticity, we may then proceed to an evaluation of their significance.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is impossible at present to fully assess the significance of the Jerusalem Scrolls. Only a beginning has been made in their study and publication; and many years and volumes will yet be required to exhaust their full implications. Certain significant results, however, may now be stated with considerable confidence.

Chief place among the manuscripts, from the standpoint of size, age, and interest for biblical studies, must be awarded to the scroll of Isaiah. Its date, near the close of the second pre-Christian century, classes it not only as the oldest extensive manuscript of the Bible existing in any language,[108] but also places it approximately a millennium earlier than the oldest Hebrew scrolls of the Old Testament which were previously known to exist.[109] We now have a Hebrew witness, practically contemporary with the Septuagint, to the early text of the Prophet. This early date plus the completeness of the scroll, makes it an extremely important instrument

for the textual criticism of the canonical book. The point of chief significance in this connection is the remarkable degree to which it supports the fidelity of the Masoretic Text. The standardization of the traditional text is herein indicated to have been accomplished much earlier than was previously supposed. Furthermore, a comparison of the Masoretic and Jerusalem texts reveals that, in spite of the extreme antiquity of the latter, the former may actually preserve the text in earlier form. The Masoretic superiority, plus its more archaic orthography, suggest that the archetype of the Masorah of the traditional text was based on a pre-Maccabean manuscript of the Prophet.[110] (A similar inference may be drawn with respect to the traditional text of Habakkuk). On the other hand, the older traditions of grammar and pronunciation preserved by the Isaiah scroll will be of inestimable value in the reconstruction of pre-Masoretic grammar.

As has been indicated previously, though some proposed emendations of the Masoretic Text are strikingly confirmed by the Isaiah scroll, textual variants in the latter are far less numerous than radical critics might have desired. Disappointed, too, are those who seek here for evidence resolving difficulties of unity and date of composition. The First and Second Isaiah question is left unanswered; the beginning of chapter forty is distinguished only by an unindented paragraph and a marginal sectarian symbol. This was to be expected, however, since our scroll is certainly later than the canonization of the Prophets. On the other hand, those who would date chapter 65, for example, as late as 200 B.C. are definitely shown to be in error. Such a date leaves an insufficient margin of time for the canonical book to have assumed its present form.[111]

It is of particular interest that we are now only a brief span of years removed from the originals of certain Old Testament books. This seems especially true in the case of Daniel. If this book was completed about 165 B.C. as modern scholars believe, two of our Daniel fragments are less than a century removed from its original composition[112]—

exceeding the expectations of the most optimistic of scholars.

From the standpoint of textual matters, the same general conclusions are valid for the Habakkuk Commentary as apply to the Isaiah scroll. A consideration of critical matters, however, yields an item of special note. The fact that the Habakkuk Commentary intentionally closes at the end of chapter two lends support to the higher critical view that the psalm of chapter three is a later addition to the prophetic oracles composing the first two chapters. A second distinctive contribution of the Habakkuk scroll is that it pushes back the known date for the existence of biblical commentaries by many hundreds of years. Previously, the ninth century A.D. was the date assigned for the origin of works of this kind.

Of the Sectarian Document it may be said that it should add substantially to the limited information which Josephus and Philo give us concerning sects within Judaism. The Hymns of Thanksgiving should "prove immensely valuable for future studies in the biblical Psalter, as well as in studies of the evolution and nature of later Hebrew psalmody."[113] A significant feature of the "Hymn" document concerns the three parchment sheets of which it is composed. Apparently they were folded in book form rather than rolled as scrolls.[114] If this be true, the codex came into Jewish usage considerably earlier than previously supposed.

The discovery of this amazing cache of documents takes on added significance when it is remembered that they derive from a time of great obscurity when other Hebrew sources are unfortunately silent. Our scrolls as a whole, therefore, contain unique resources for the textual criticism of the Old Testament, for the study of Hebrew paleography and historical grammar; and for the understanding of Jewish religion, history, and literature of the Intertestamental period. As a matter of fact, they may well revolutionize our knowledge of each of these areas. Certainly their impact on Old Testament, New Testament, and Intertestamental studies will be felt for many years to come.[115] So, in an age that has witnessed the discovery of atomic fission, man con-

tinues to bring out of the treasures which God has preserved for him something old as well as the new. "Let knowledge grow from more to more, but more of reverence in us dwell."

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*The inaugural address of Assistant Professor William H. Morton of the Department of Biblical Archaeology, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

1. **Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts,** p. 48.
2. Albright suggests "Ain Feshkha" as a more suitable designation of these documents inasmuch as the cave in which they were discovered is located in the cliffs above a spring of this name. Cf. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 41.
3. Knowledge of the actual finding of the scrolls is dependent on the account of the Bedouins as related by the Syrians. Later investigation of the cave seems to substantiate the essential accuracy of this account, though unfortunate secrecy surrounds many of the details.
4. Cf. **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 26-31.
5. Cf. **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 16f., n. 39; **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 28.
6. See Trever's account of these events in **BA,** XI (September, 1948), 46-57.
7. **BA,** XI (September, 1948), 55.
8. **BA,** XI (September, 1948), 56.
9. Sellers, **BASOR,** 114 (April, 1949), 5-9. Cf. Albright, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 45-47; **BA,** XII (May, 1939), 32f.
10. These men are known to Mr. Harding, but their identity has not been made public. See Sellers, **op. cit.,** pp. 7-9.
11. **Louisville Courier Journal,** August 12, 1949, sect. II, p. 22.
12. Apparently the Syrians secured possession of some fragments not included in their original purchase, for Trever received word December 30, 1948, that the Metropolitan had secured some fragments from the cave. See **JBR,** XVII (April, 1949), 101, n. 6.
13. Seeligmann, I. L., **Bibliotheca Orientalis,** Jan., 1949, pp. 2ff., referred to by Zeitlin, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 71f., n. 25. Cf. Roberts, B. J., **Expository Times,** LX (Aug. 1949), 308.
14. There seems to have been some early confusion about the Daniel fragments. Early notices from the Hebrew University indicated that Daniel was among their documents, but this was later denied; now these three fragments have appeared in the Syrian group. Cf. Wright, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 33. See also Burrows, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 57.
15. Ginsberg listed the number as six in **BASOR,** 112 (Dec,. 1948), 19.
16. See Cross, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 30.
17. **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 32f.
18. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 46, n. 8.
19. From the abundance of manuscripts involved in this discovery, some scholars have inferred that the cave from which they were recovered represents an ancient geniza. However, the serviceable condition of some of the scrolls, plus the careful precautions taken for their preservation, suggests rather a "sectarian library," secured in this manner in time of crisis. Cf. **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 5, n. 9; **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 38.
20. Zeitlin, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 70, n. 23a.
21. **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 16, n. 32.

22. See Burrows, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 60f.
23. **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 16-24; **BASOR,** 113 (Feb. 1949), 24-32.
24. In the most unusual instance, four dots are used to represent the Divine name. Cf. **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 31.
25. Cf. **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 8, n. 16; **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 16, n. 32.
26. Ginsberg, **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 21 n. 6. See also Burrows, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 61.
27. See Trever, **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 7-9; Burrows, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 61.
28. Trever, **op. cit.,** p. 9, n. 19.
29. See Trever, **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 9-12.
30. Cross, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 39; Zeitlin, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 74; Burrows, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 58; Albright, **From the Stone Age to Christianity,** pp. 288f.
31. Ginsberg, **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 21; Burrows, **loc. cit.,** and **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 51.
32. Burrows, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 58.
33. **Ibid.,** pp. 58-60.
34. **Ibid.,** p. 59.
35. See Trever, **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 12-14.
36. Ginsberg, **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 20; cf. Seeligmann. **Bibliotheca Orientalis,** VI (Jan., 1949), 1-8.
37. **JQR,** XXXIX (Jan., 1949), 239-40.
38. Brownlee, **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 8-18.
39. **BASOR,** 114 (April, 1949), 10.
40. Trever, **JBR,** XVII (April, 1949), 100; Burrows, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 58.
41. See Brownlee, **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 16, n. 12.
42. **Ibid.,** p. 17, n. 19. See col. II, Lines 8-9; cf. col. VII, lines 4-5.
43. **Ibid.,** p. 16, n. 12.
44. **Ibid.,** p. 17, n. 36.
45. **BASOR,** 114 (April, 1949), 11 and n. 3.
46. Cf. **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 18, n. 85.
47. See Cross, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 40-43.
48. **Loc. cit.**
49. Albright, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 48, n. 10. See also Ginsberg, **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 22.
50. See Cross, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 43-46.
51. **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 22. R. T. O'Callaghan concurs in the view; cf. **Scripture,** IV (April, 1949), 44.
52. See Cross, **loc. cit.**
53. **Neue Zurcher Zeitung** (Feb., 1949), referred to by Roberts, B. J., **Expository Times,** LX (Aug., 1949), 307.
54. See **JBL,** LVI (Sept. 1937), 145-176. In this study Albright favors a date for the Nash Papyrus in the earlier half of the Maccabean age; now, however, he seems to lean toward a date in the latter half of the period. See **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 18, n. 46.
55. **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 2f. See also **BA,** XI, (May, 1948), 22; **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 55.
56. **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 3.
57. Birnbaum, **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 33-35; **JBL,** LXVIII (June, 1949), 161-68.
58. **JBL,** LXVIII (June, 1949), 162.
59. **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 35; JBL, LXVIII (June, 1949), 168.

60. **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 6-23.
61. Insertions of omitted material, in three different hands, in columns 28, 32, and 33 of the Isaiah scroll. Cf. **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 8, n. 16; **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 6, n. 7; 16, n. 32.
62. It seems that at least two of the scrolls in Sukenik's possession may also be added to this second group. See **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 6, n. 8.
63. See Albright's study of the Nash Papyrus, **JBL,** LVI (Sept., 1937), 145-176. Here he classifies and traces the development of the pre-Masoretic, Hebrew-Aramaic script.
64. See Albright, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 44f.
65. See Cross, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 38. Dr. Sukenik is our foremost authority in the field of early Jewish ossuaries.
66. Cf. Zeitlin, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 58.
67. Lacheman, **JQR,** XL (July, 1939), 32. On other grounds he considers the Jerusalem Scrolls to be medieval. Cf. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 34.
68. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 33.
69. Zeitlin, **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 352f.
70. **Loc. cit.; JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 57f.
71. **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 352; n. 70. Zeitlin here claims that Nash should be dated subsequent to the destruction of the Second Temple.
72. **Ibid.,** pp. 352, 362f.
73. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 58f.
74. **Ibid.,** pp. 42f.
75. **Ibid.,** p. 53.
76. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 43f.
77. **Ibid.,** pp. 52f. On the Damascus Document see Kahle, Paul E., **The Cairo Geniza,** pp. 11f.; Rowley, H. H., **The Relevance of the Apocalyptic,** pp. 73-77.
78. Birnbaum's dates have already been noted above. Dr. Paul Kahle insists that our scrolls cannot possibly be later than the second century A.D. Cf. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 44.
79. Cf. Trever, **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 17, n. 40.
80. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 62-65, 76f.
81. See **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 20f., 33-35; JBL, LXVIII (June, 1949), 161-168.
82. **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 64, n. 18.
83. **Ibid.,** p. 56.
84. See Ginsberg, **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1948), 20.
85. **Ibid.,** p. 20, n. 4. In his **Studies in Daniel,** p. 78, n. 21, Ginsberg explains that Daniel 11:30 imposes the following sense on Numbers 24:24: " 'Ships shall come forth from Kittim (=the Romans) and shall afflict Asshur (=the Seleucid Syrians), who in turn shall afflict Eber (=the Hebrews.' "
86. Ginsberg, **op. cit.,** p. 21.
87. **Ibid.,** pp. 21f.
88. Ginsberg, **loc. cit.**
89. Albright, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 48, n. 10, with reference to Seeligmann, **Bibliotheca Orientalis,** VI (Jan., 1949), 6.
90. **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 337-40, 345f.; **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 60f.
91. **BASOR,** 112 (Dec., 1949), 20f.
92. This position is seemingly refuted by the reference in Ezra 7:5. However, he contends that the term here means "first priest" rather than "high priest." Cf. **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 343f.

93. **Loc. cit.** See also **JQR,** XXXIX (Jan., 1949), 246f.
94. See Burrows, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 52f.; Zeitlin, **JQR,** XXXIX (Jan., 1949), 237.
95. **JQR,** XXXIX Jan., 1949), 236-40; **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 77; JQR, XXXIX (April, 1949), 360, n. 92.
96. See Kahle, Paul E., **The Cairo Geniza,** p. 11; Rowley, H. H., **The Relevance of the Apocalyptic,** pp. 73-77.
97. Zeitlin, **JQR,** XXXIX (Jan., 1949), 243f.; **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 346-50; 353, n. 72; **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 71, n. 25. See also Brownlee, **BASOR,** 114 (April, 1949), 10; Trever, **BASOR,** 111 (Oct., 1948), 14, n. 30.
98. **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 351f.
99. Beth-zur was excavated by Sellers and Albright; the pottery dating here can be well controlled by coins. See Albright, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 46, n. 9.
100. Sellers, **BASOR,** 114 (April, 1949), 8.
101. See Albright, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 47.
102. Albright, **loc cit.**
103. **Loc cit.**
104. Sellers, **loc. cit.** Zeitlin insists that it is also possible that more recent scrolls could have been put in ancient jars. As Burrows says, "The pottery can establish only the **terminus ad quem** of the deposit in the cave." See Zeitlin, **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 363, n. 94; also Burrows, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 54f.

The Bedouins claimed that some of the original jars were preserved intact and that they had removed them for use as water containers. Although the Syrian Metropolitan was unsuccessful in his attempt to secure them, Dr. Sukenik reports **(New York Times,** March 19, 1949) that he has now been able to make the purchase. See Trever, **BA,** XI (Sept., 1948), 49; also Zeitlin, **JQR,** XXXIX (April, 1949), 356, n. 77.
105. Sellers, **op. cit.,** p. 9. See also Albright **loc. cit.** While seeming to share this view, Burrows admits that the two Roman pieces do complicate the picture and prevent us from stating with complete assurance that the deposit was sealed before the Roman period. Burrows, **op. cit., p.** 55.
106. Sellers, **loc. cit.**
107. Cross, T. M., **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 38.
108. With the possible exception of some of the fragments previously mentioned as belonging to the Jerusalem corpus, only the Fuad and Rylands fragments of the Greek Deuteronomy, from the second century B.C., have any claim to greater antiquity. Cf. **BA,** VIII (Dec., 1945), 100; Albright, W. F., **The Archaeology of Palestine,** pp. 221ff.; Trever, **BASOR,** 113 (Feb., 1949), 23, n. 16. Albright has consistently maintained that the Isaiah scroll antedates the Nash Papyrus; cf. **JBR,** XVII (April, 1949), 101, n. 17; Albright, **loc. cit.**
109. Codex Petropolitanus, dated in 916 A.D., is the oldest dated Hebrew manuscript of any part of the O. T. Kahle places some undated ones slightly earlier, however. Cf. Albright, **op. cit.,** p. 221.
110. Cf. Albright, **JQR,** XL (July, 1949), 47f. See also Roberts, B. J., **Expository Times,** LX (Aug., 1949), 306.
111. See Wright, G. E., **BA,** XI (May, 1948), 22.
112. See Wright, G. E., **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 33.
113. Cross, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 44.
114. See Roberts, B. J., **Expository Times,** LX (Aug., 1949), 307.
115. Cf. Cross, **BA,** XII (May, 1949), 36.

The Letter to Philemon—An Illustration of Koinonia

J. Estill Jones

One of the social cancers of the first century world was slavery. Angus, in his *Environment of Early Christianity,* estimates the number of slaves in the Empire as 60,000,000 with 650,000 in the city of Rome itself.[1] It was a firmly established social institution, and oddly enough in the light of modern Christian convictions, the early church did not take a definite crusading stand against it. An understanding of this attitude is necessary for an understanding of Paul's letter to Philemon.

The Jewish attitude toward slaves was notably more lax than that of the Greeks or Romans. An Israelite slave was protected by the Mosaic law from life service, and when freed in the Year of Jubilee was to be outfitted for self-support by his master. Even the rabbinical laws were notoriously kind in this regard. Philo wrote of slavery: "Masters are to treat their slaves as their hired servants, not as their slaves by nature, and give them secure access to liberty on the spot if they can provide their ransom."[2] Foreign slaves did not always enjoy these privileges, though one of the most beautiful slave-master relationships in Jewish history was that of Gamaliel with his slave Tabi. Gamaliel received letters of sympathy from his friends at the death of Tabi whom he had tried unsuccessfully to free. The provisions for runaways are of special interest. Lewis N. Dembitz[3] cites the law which requires the recaptured slave to make up the time of his absence.

Greek philosophy fully recognized slavery as a part of society's framework. Aristotle defined the slave as "a live tool" and a tool as "a lifeless slave."[4] The traffic was legalized in Ptolemaic Egypt with the entire process under government control. One of the really dark spots in Roman history appears in 61 A.D. when the Prefect of Rome, Pedonius Secundus was murdered by a slave. In the enforcement of the law four hundred innocent male and female slaves of all ages died with the murderer. A custom by which the

slave might run to an altar for sanctuary prevailed for handling the many runaways who found Rome a natural city of refuge, and even the family hearth might suffice for this purpose. In this case the homeowner could either reconcile the slave to his owner or he could sell the slave at auction and pay the owner himself.

Christianity was eventually to destroy and in an early age to affect the institution, though there were probably no modifications in the common relationship until the second century. The problem faced by Paul in the case of Onesimus was an acute one. For him to forgive a runaway or even for his owner to forgive him was a breach of the social order, and the flight of Onesimus to Paul placed a heavy responsibility on the Apostle. Emil Brunner devotes several pages in his *Justice and the Social Order* to the letter as illustrative of Christian conservatism.[5] Paul's purpose was not to overturn an established institution, but to place a concrete instance in the light of Christian love. This he did in the case of Onesimus. In his other writings and in the other New Testament books the system is recognized, and slave-master relations are treated. The later history of the church is sprinkled with cases of manumission, and in 217 A.D. Callistus, born a slave, even became bishop of Rome.

The letter itself is a gem of epistolography. The literature of the Old Testament evidences a familiarity with the personal letter.[6] The Jewish apocryphal books and the writings of Josephus contain letters, but the chief source of applicable materials is to be found in the non-literary papyri. *Philemon* comes in this category of a personal and non-literary letter. A comparison of form, and of familiar formulas is particularly valuable in this respect, for *Philemon* is easily analyzed after the manner of the common papyrus letter. Many of the phrases are identical, and even the spirit of the letter in its pleading is quite similar to certain papyrus discoveries. The analysis of the letter, following the form of the papyrus letter, is as follows:

I. Introduction (1-3)
II. Proscynesis (4-6)

III. Proem: On Mutual Relations (7-9)

IV. Substance of Letter: Request concerning Onesimus (10-22)

V. Conclusion (23-25)

The exegesis of any letter written by Paul must take its viewpoint from the nature of the letter itself. The task of such an exegesis is to reproduce the Apostle's statements as they have been investigated in their historical circumstances and as phenomena of religious psychology. Because it is developed by insight and intuition the exegesis has an unavoidable subjective character. It is necessary to transport the exegete back into the conditions prevailing at the letter's writing. In light of these facts, the first problem that faces the exegete in the interpretation of *Philemon* is the identification of the persons involved. It is just here that many problems arise. Philemon was placed first, and so traditionally has been ascribed the position of slave-owner. It is much more logical, however, in the light of recent thought, to assign this position to Archippus. Doctor John Knox devotes much of the space in his *Philemon Among the Letters of Paul* to the obvious connection between the position of Archippus in relation to Onesimus and the mention of Archippus in *Colossians* 4:17. The "ministry" which he was indirectly urged to perform in that letter is a brief citation of the entire letter to Philemon. The word, *diakonian,* refers there to a temporary ministration as in *Acts* 12:25 where Barnabas and Saul completed a *diakonian.* Paul's very reference to it in *Colossians* indicates that he had some misgivings about Archippus. It would be strange for Paul to admonish a church official so indirectly. It would be similarly strange for Paul to mention the slave in *Colossians* with another principle in the case, and not mention the slave's owner, especially after urging the church to receive him as a beloved brother. (*Colossians* 4:9). The *Colossians* reference to Archippus in the context of the "out of Laodicea" letter (4:17) has led many to place Archippus in Laodicea. The preposition *ek* describes the letter as being "out of" Laodicea and does not

place Archippus in that city. Onesimus is described in *Colossians* 4:9 as being "out of you," and so the usual interpretation is that Philemon and Onesimus lived in Colossae while Archippus, Philemon's son, was a missionary evangelist with headquarters at Laodicea. Apphia is usually regarded as Philemon's wife and the mother of Archippus. Here, the presence of the first person pronoun following the name of Archippus is significant. Philemon and Apphia are treated together with a single *hēmōn,* but the name Archippus is followed by a second *hēmōn.* Grammatically both Philemon and Archippus are on a par, and the presence of the second pronoun distinguishes Archippus from the other two as having an individual relation with Paul. This relation is heightened by the use of the term *sustratiōtēs* which is usually translated "fellow-soldier." At least two of its papyri usages suggest a connection with money matters. It is fitting that Paul should address Archippus in this fashion in a letter concerned with his property which Paul was returning.

The order of address might seem to preclude the possibility of this identity. Just here a papyrus letter is significant.[7] It is addressed to two individuals, both of whom are greeted with the use of the plural pronouns. Then the writer turned to the second of the two for the body of the letter. He directed a remark toward the close of the letter to the first individual, and then immediately to the second, closing the letter with remarks to both. The first named individual seems easily the more important of the two, and yet the letter is obviously not written for his benefit. Here is the situation in *Philemon.* Paul sent his letter to Archippus "in care of" Philemon with whom Paul had had more direct relations. The phrase *kat'oikon sou* is thus describing the church which meets in the house of Archippus, for it follows his name immediately, and the pronoun would certainly not jump over two names to take its reference back to Philemon. Archippus owned the house in which the church was meeting, and he also owned the slave, Onesimus.

To Philemon is ascribed the position of bishop by tradi-

tions which are not wholly reliable. His mention by these sources certainly does not prevent the possibility of his occupying that office. Nothing is known of Philemon's contact with Paul, though they may well have been friends through Paul's ministry in Ephesus. It is just here that the mention of the church "in your house" is important. The letter has been almost unanimously considered a personal letter; yet it is apparently addressed partially to a church. If in any sense it is a church letter, the church leader would normally be named first. It is just possible that Philemon occupied a place of leadership in the churches of that region.

The reference to Onesimus in *Colossians* 4:9 offers little help in his identification. Even the place of his residence cannot be definitely determined, for Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae were closely related. Circumstances combine to make a residence in Colossae more acceptable, and thus he probably belonged to a family who were members of that church. He gained his freedom from slavery in his flight, and his very willingness to return at Paul's instigation signified a change of heart. It is probable, as will be shown later, that the time spent with Paul fitted him for great importance in the early church.

The change in number of the pronouns throughout the letter lends strength to the preceding argument. It must be admitted that the address is peculiar in this respect. In verse 2, the church is described as in "your" (singular) house. In verse 3, grace is directed "to you" (plural) while the singular pronoun is used in verses 4 through 21. In verse 22, however, Paul writes of "your" (plural) prayers, and again in the same verse "I shall be granted to you" (plural). While he reverts to the singular in verse 23, the same plural appears in verse 2, "with your spirit." The situation is clear: Paul wrote concerning Onesimus in the fashion which would most nearly insure proper treatment of the runaway. The personal note through the body of the letter was a pleasing expression in a delicate situation. Philemon, whom he knew well, was a church leader at Laodicea, and so was addressed first. Tychicus and Onesimus

stopped off at Laodicea first where the letter was read by Philemon. With Philemon's stamp of approval it was delivered to Archippus, who was owner of the house in which the church met at Colossae. It was more than a personal letter, for it was addressed also to the church "in your house." Reading by the church along with previous reading by Philemon placed mild pressure on Archippus, and insured his fair treatment of the slave. The change of pronouns through the letter indicates this double nature. In a letter delivered at the same time (*Colossians*), the case is mentioned, and Archippus is to be admonished by the church to do what has been asked of him by Paul in connection with a letter "out of Laodicea." If *Philemon* was delivered first of all to Laodicea, it may well be the "Laodicean" letter described in *Colossians*. The church meeting in the house of Archippus had a stake in the return of Onesimus. The church, drawn close to Paul by *Colossians*, could hardly refrain from exerting a powerful influence in his favor with Archippus.

The theme of the letter is expressed in verses 5-6. These verses close Paul's introductory prayer which followed on the pattern of the usual papyrus letter. The clauses are interrelated in a very compact fashion, and must be treated in the light of their coherency. His thanksgiving of verse 4 is significant since it is based on hearsay. The obvious question asks the source of the causal *akouōn* in verse 5. This same thought is resumed in verse 7 where Paul describes the joy he experienced at the occasion of the owner's love, and so the two expressions must be taken together. This is the sort of expression (*akouōn*) which refers to someone with whom the writer is not familiar. That person is Archippus, and his chief source of information would naturally be Onesimus. Here is a commentary on both Onesimus and Archippus. Onesimus did not come to Paul with wild tales of mistreatment, and, as a result, one is reasonably sure that there was no such mistreatment. In verse 7, Archippus is described as "having refreshed the spirits of the saints." A grammatical construction which is a common figure of

speech called chiasm appears in verses 5-6. At first glance in light of the apparent parallelism, the love seems to be directed toward the Lord Jesus and the faith toward all the saints. A slight shuffling of the phrases, however, produces the inverted parallelism which explains the statement. Paul had heard of the love which Archippus had demonstrated to all the saints (v. 7), and of the faith which he had in the Lord Jesus. Of particular importance is the preposition used with the Lord Jesus. Inferior texts give *eis* here following "the faith which you have," but *pros* is certainly to be preferred on textual evidence. This preposition appears in I *Thessalonians* 1:8 in a similar phrase, though it is not the usual preposition with *pistis*. When used by Philo,[8] the combination signifies the glue which draws an individual near to God. The preposition suggests mutuality and union, and occurs in classical Greek of all sorts of personal intercourse.[9] Two passages in *Philippians* (2:30, 4:6) illustrate this meaning by which *pros* expresses "not the mere direction of faith and love towards Christ, but the relation of loving and believing intercourse with him."[10] The appearance of the themeword *koinōnia* in verse 6 explains the combination. This verse is the expressed substance of the petition which follows "making mention of you" in verse 4. This prayer then is that "the fellowship of your faith may become productive in the particular knowledge of every good thing which is in us unto Christ." Only one change need be made for clarity. The genitive of *pistis* is appositional in force. Doctor Robertson cites a number of these appositional genitives,[11] and this explains the meaning here: "the fellowship which is your faith . . . " The word *koinōnia* itself suggests mutuality or partnership. It is used in this verse in that wide spiritual sense, the spirit of communion which arises from, and is identified with, faith itself. It is communion with Christ first, and all such *koinōnoi* enjoy brotherliness.

The theme is further developed in verse 6 for the object of Paul's prayer is that the *koinōnia* may become active and productive. This brings the problem to a head in the situa-

tion which prompted the letter. Its sphere of productivity is to be in the continued relations between Archippus and Paul and their mutual friends. If there is any doubt as to the personal nature of this letter, it is to be remembered that those of Paul's friends who are mentioned in the closing greetings are familiar with the case, and so are interested in its outcome. This particular knowledge (*epignōsis*) is to be evidence of spiritual advance, and all is directed ultimately "for the work of (*eis*) Christ."

Frequently the letters of the period devoted several sentences to a play on mutual relations between the writer and the addressee. This section of *Philemon,* the Proem, describes the background of, and the spirit in which the request of Paul is being made. There is a possible reference to secular history in the phrase, "the spirits of the saints have been refreshed through you." A devastating earthquake shook the Lycus Valley about this time, and many wonder at Paul's failure to take note of it in his letters. It is just possible that this "refreshment" on the part of Archippus was directed toward the refugee saints of the neighboring cities. The date of the shock is in question; suffice it to say that the activity of Archippus in the need of the saints was a cause of joy to Paul. It was this knowledge of previous activity that prompted Paul to make his request. Verse 8 is the nearest approach in the letter to any assertion of Paul's authority, and in itself is the repudiation of that authority. The participle is concessive in force (*echōn*), and presupposes the possession of such authority; however, this authority, which amounted to "positive outspokenness," was placed even by Paul "in Christ." Though Paul's greatness in the Christian mission placed him at the forefront in the churches, he refuses to use the authority in his attempt to bring two Christians together. He does not "command;" he simply makes a request on the basis of love. That which Paul was asking he was asking as a tribute to the principle of *agape.* His plea was stated in a three-fold manner in verse 9. Having rejected the use of authority which he rightly possessed, he plead as (1) an old friend, Paul, (2) as an old man, and (3) as a prisoner of Christ

Jesus. None of these assumed the right to command, but each offered a ground for the appeal which followed. Three times in the letter Paul referred to himself as a prisoner, and here he adds to the force of that plea a reference to his age: he needed Onesimus with himself—Archippus could hardly escape that knowledge, and their former relations made the appeal proper.

In verse 10 the preposition *peri* following *parakaleo* introduces the content of the request. It is not used in the sense of "in behalf of;" Paul simply asks "for" Onesimus. He had become as a son to him in his bonds, for he had helped to mold his life after the re-creation experience. The term "child" is fitting, for the *Talmud* cites an example of one who teaches the son of his neighbor the Torah claiming him as his own lawfully begotten son.[12] The transformation wrought in the life of the runaway slave is complete: he once was useless, now he's useful to both Paul and Archippus. The value to Paul himself was inestimable in prison. The ethical datives, *soi* and *emoi*, have a spiritual meaning which is expressed clearly in verse 16, and their use demands as basis some experience of mutual benefit to Paul and Onesimus—an experience which caused Paul to ask for his return. Yet Paul recognized the claim which Archippus had on his slave, and the word used for "I sent back" is used three out of four times elsewhere in the New Testament with the legal idea of "sending up" from a lower to a higher court.[13] He was referring the case to the legal owner for the final decision, but his own desires are scarcely hidden. The imperfect of the verb *boulomai* which describes the formation of a purpose or a mind about a matter describes the sincere desire of Paul to keep Onesimus at his side, but the aorist *ēthelēsa* denotes in verse 14 a definite conclusive act, a single decisive resolution. The infinitive "to keep to myself" uses the perfective *kata* which lends the meaning "to possess fully for myself." Should Archippus return to Paul the ultimate effect would be more complete possession by Paul.

It is not until verse 13 that the substance of the request

is stated clearly. The purpose of Paul was that Onesimus might serve him in his master's behalf—a perfectly normal arrangement in the first century.[14] A delicate touch is added in the use of *diakonē* for service instead of a form of *douleuō* for slavery. The connection here is between the servant and his work, and there is no subjection to a master intended. Indeed, the "me" (*moi*) is in the instrumental case, and is best translated "with me." Verse 14 assumes the reaction of Archippus: Paul expressed faith in the master's "good work" (*agathē*). It is as though Paul were saying, "Now I have sent him to you; let your freely flowing goodness result in his freedom, and then send him back to me, for I might well have kept him for myself, except that you have the privilege of doing it for me." The verb *apechō* (v. 15) is translated in various ways, but papyri usage suggests "to give a receipt for" as the most likely. Upon the return of Onesimus, Archippus was to give a receipt for him forever, and return him to Paul who considered him a "beloved brother" already. Archippus would find him much more valuable in that service than he had even been before, and Paul too would be helped. The appeal reaches its height in verse 17 where Paul once again introduces the theme of *koinōnia*. The condition which begins the verse is of the first class and thus determined as fulfilled. Paul is saying, "If you consider me a partner (and you do), then take on Archippus as partner too," for the verb *proslambanomai* is the technical papyrus term for beginning a partnership. Verse 18 is introduced by a similar condition which presupposes some wrong done to Archippus by the slave. Whatever the wrong, Paul assummed full responsibility for it, even though the wrong may have simply been deprivation of the slave's services over a period of time. In the light of the system previously described, this was probably the wrong committed, though if robbery had been committed, Paul stood ready to bear that responsibility as well. His assertion in verse 19 of willingness to pay assumes the form of a "note of hand" acknowledging a debt, and the same expression has been found in a large number of ancient notes. Another delicate touch is

added in this verse as Paul calls Archippus to the recognition of his own debt. The debt suggested is probably the experience of conversion for which Paul was certainly responsible in some way. If Archippus owed Paul that spiritual debt, and he charged Paul this physical debt, he might as well pay himself and allow Onesimus to return to the Apostle. The terminology in these verses is unmistakably and intentionally that of a business transaction. Paul's plea is logical and gentle: he made an investment to pay dividends—and the possession of Onesimus is that dividend. The verb *onaimēn* is frequently cited as a "pun" on the name of Onesimus, and its use is certainly infrequent enough to make its use in a letter by Ignatius to an Onesimus striking by comparison.

The rest of the letter consists in an expression of confidence in the "compliance" (not obedience) of Archippus that he will do even more than the Apostle has requested outright. The meaning of the *huper ha* is that Paul expected Archippus to read "between the lines" if necessary to get the full force of the plea. He enforces it with a promise that he will come himself as soon as possible, and no one really knows whether or not he went to Colossae from Rome. The concluding greetings call others to witness the need of the Apostle and the evident duty of Archippus. The benediction is typically Pauline.

The end of the story has not been told, but it is safe to say that the letter to Archippus would hardly have been preserved had he not complied with Paul's request. Otherwise it would have been preserved to the owner's shame, for its brevity and apparent insignificance did not recommend it to the canon. Its importance is based on the emancipation of Onesimus—destined to be well-known in the early church. Some forty-five years after Paul wrote the letter, a certain Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus. Tradition identifies this Onesimus with the freed slave, and if, as it seems, he was a young man when he fled Colossae, he would not have been too old to serve that church in 107 A.D. There is one item of evidence, however, which is un-

mistakable. In the year 107, Ignatius addressed a letter to Onesimus of Ephesus. The literary parallels in the two letters are striking, each of the first six chapters of Ignatius' letter containing something reminiscent of Paul's letter to Philemon. These parallels transcend mere conscidence or epistolary style as a comparison of the two will immediately show. The more obvious comparisons are as follows: *Ignatius* 1:1 with *Philemon* 5; 1:2 with 22; 2:1 with 20; 3:1, 2 with 8, 9; 4:2 with 5, 6; 5:1 with 15, 16 and 6:1 with 17. Doctor Knox has called attention to these similarities, and writes that "they can be accounted for only upon the assumption of some literary connection."[15] Even the introductory letter of Ignatius' letter has the double reference of *Philemon*: apparently addressed to an individual and a church. What better assurance could Ignatius have had that his letter would be given a hearing than that he should remind the aging Onesimus of the Pauline letter which was responsible for his freedom? That which transpired in the meantime is unknown, but it seems probable that Onesimus rose to prominence because of his close work with Paul. Again it is possible that Onesimus was principally responsible for the Pauline corpus. His own letter (*Philemon*) was his most treasured possession, and his ministry in Ephesus which was a Pauline center may have inspired him as Knox suggests to collect all Pauline letters. It is for this reason that Doctor Knox assigns such importance to the little letter, so long dismissed as a personal letter of Paul which is a gem of beauty, or a tirade against slavery which it certainly is not. That it does have value as a personal letter of the Apostle is undeniable, but for it to be exalted as an early invective against slavery is foolish. Added significance is seen for it in the identification as the Laodicean letter of *Colossians* 4:16. Its close connection with *Colossians* and its fulfilling of all the conditions necessary to such identification cannot be treated here, but suffice it to say that evidence points clearly in that direction.

The clearest lesson of all, however, is this practical illustration of *koinōnia*. L. S. Thornton[16] treats Philemon

as a "koinōnia document of great importance." To even accept the slave without punishment was to transcend class distinctions. To free him after such contempt for the entire social system was dangerous to the system. To receive him as a "beloved brother" was well-nigh imposisble. The church at Colossae was likewise encouraged to treat him as a "beloved brother" and that involved more than just one family. Even Onesimus was called upon to subject himself and his newly-won freedom to social justice. All of this is the enunciation of the *koinōnia* principle. Onesimus was a slave, but even Paul was no more than a prisoner, and both are on the same footing in Christ. The long suffering of *Philemon* from homiletical pains emphasizes this truth. Lavater preached thirty-nine sermons on the book while pastor in Zurich—all of a hotatory nature,[17] and all point to the same practical lesson: In Paul's dealings with a runaway slave he applied the *koinōnia* principle.

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16. L. S. Thornton, **The Common Life in the Body of Christ.** Westminster: Dacre Press, 1946, p. 38.
17. J. Van Oosterzee, **The Epistle of Paul to Philemon.** H. B. Hackett, translator. John Peter Lange, **A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures.** Fifth edition; New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co., 1868, VIII, 9.

History with a Roman Accent

A Review-Essay

By Theron D. Price
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

The History of the Primitive Church. By Jules Lebreton and Jacques Zeiller. New York: Macmillan, 1949. 2 volumes, 1,272 pages. $16.50.

This work is a translation of volumes one (*L'Eglise primitive*) and two (*De la fin du 2e siecle a la paix constantinienne*) of a comprehensive, twenty-four-volume *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les Origines jusqu'a nos Jours.* Volumes one through nine, and Vol. 17, of the twenty-four have been appearing through the last decade or fifteen years. The entire series is published under the direction of Augustin Fliche, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Montpellier and Mgr. Victor Martin, Dean of the Faculty of Catholic Theology at Strassburg. This same translation appeared in four small volumes, published by Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., London, 1942 f.

The Jesuit, Pere Lebreton is Dean of the Faculty of Theology of the *Institut Catholique* of Paris. M. Zeiller is Director of Studies at the *Ecole des Hautes-Etudes* (Sorbonne). The able translator, Dr. Ernest C. Messenger, is an English Roman Catholic, and author of *The Reformation, The Mass and The Priesthood,* 2 volumes, London, 1936/1937.

The purpose of the twenty-four volumes is to supply, in broad survey, a comprehensive history of the Church. The great progress in Church Historical studies in this century makes such a work timely because important. The innumerable problems involved in such a broad undertaking, and the sweep of knowledge necessary for its execution—far too many and too complex to be dealt with adequately by an individual—are confronted by a competent and well-known group of about thirty-five specialists.

Most of the errors of print, and otherwise, are of a quite minor sort—though there are far too many of them. Only

because a new printing is virtually certain, the following are submitted.

p. 66, l. 24,	For **War,** read **Wars** (as in n. 87).
p. 69, n. 2,	For **Jean,** read **Jena.**
p. 91, n. 18,	For **Des,** read **Les.**
p. 130, l. 3,	For whosoever, read whomsoever.
p. 149, n. 82,	For **Origen,** read Origen.
p. 173, l. 3,	For **koiuouia,** read **koinonia,** and strike off the first accent.
Ibid. l. 5,	Read **hairesis,** with breathing over the first iota, and with iota substituted for superfluous accent in the ultima.
p. 181, n. 11,	For Epistle of Barnabas, read **Epistle of Barnabas.**
ibid.,	For Barnabas, read **Barnabas.**
p. 198, n. 8,	For **Ueber Tod der Sohne Zebedaei,** read **Ueber den Tod der Soehne Zebedaei.**
p. 210, l. 36,	For (xv, 7-1), read (xv, 7-11).
p. 231, l. 29,	For disputed, read disputer.
p. 238, l. 31,	Space between **Koinon** and **Asias.**
p. 292, n. 26,	For Liber **pontificalis,** read **Liber pontificalis.**
p. 329, l. 12,	For Kidd, **A.,** read Kidd, B. J.
l. 27,	For Zellier, read Zeiller.
Ibid.,	For Vol. VI, read Vol. V, part 2 (or V/2).
p. 320, n. 32,	Either too much or too little italics in the title.
p. 346, n. 1,	For **Entschung,** read **Entstehung.**
p. 350, n. 10,	For appostles, read apostles.
p. 360, n. 3, l. 2,	For seems, read seem.
p. 399, l. 13,	Blurred footnote number after "Rome." Read, Rome[6].
p. 418, n. 27,	For **kon.,** read **koen.**
p. 440, l. 10,	Barkokeba, better spelled Bar Kokhba, as on pp. 17, 395 and 499.
p. 456, n. 1,	For Antenicene, read Ante-Nicene.
p. 489, n. 4,	There is no n. 1 on p. 417 (apparently the page reference is also incorrect).
ibid., n. 5,	For 54, read LIV (as on p. 415).
p. 494, l. 2,	Eleutherius, spelled a variety of ways in the text (Cf. p. 1147, l. 7, and references given in **Index** to his name).
p. 494, n. 1,	For **Agypten,** read **Aegypten.**
p. 501, n. 3,	**Beihefte** numbers are omitted.
p. 533, l. 14 f,	Italicize "Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus."
p. 536, n. 21, l. 4,	For Lives of Barlaam and Joasaph, read **Life of Barlaam and Joasaph.**
p. 536, n. 21, l. 8,	For Ed. Hennecke, read Ed. by Hennecke.
ibid., l. 9,	For De Geffcken, read by Geffcken.
p. 537, n. 24,	Drop iota subscript in **keklemenoi.**
p. 542, n. 2,	For in Justin's, read **in Justin's.**
p. 543, l. 31,	Cf. spelling of Evelpistos with Evelpistus (next page).
p. 575, n. 19,	For **Forschungen. Geschx.,** read **Forschungen z. Gesch.**
p. 579, n. 26,	For **dmas,** read **humas.**

p. 580, n. 4,	No Vol. number is given before the page reference. **La Fin du Paganisme** is in two vols.
p. 581, l. 31,	For its, read it.
p. 617, n. 1,	For Woelker, read Voelker (as on p. 927, n. 1).
p. 629, n. 37,	There is no previous reference to Preuschen in Vol. II.
p. 631, n. 40,	For Volker, read Voelker (as on p. 927, n. 1).
p. 641, n. 3,	For **Adv. Marcion**, read **Adv. Marcion.**, or **Adv. Marcionem.**
p. 642, n. 7,	For **Apost. Symbol.**, read **Apost. Symbol**, (no second period).
p. 643, n. 13,	For **Ad. Marc.**, read **Adv. Marc.**
p. 677, n. 22, l. 12,	For Pullar, read Puller.
p. 730, n. 17,	**For Jahrh. in Katholik**, read **Jahrh. in Katholik**
p. 738, n. 33, l. 1, 2, 14, 17, 26,	For Patricompassionism, read Patricompassianism.
p. 739, n. 34,	Ditto.
p. 748, n. 72,	For J. W. Turner, read J. W. Tyrer.
p. 751, n. 1, l. 2,	For Knoff, read Knopf (as on p. 792, n. 2 and 804, n. 9).
p. 755, n. 10,	Ditto.
p. 769, l. 20,	For Lucius of Antioch, read Lucian of Antioch.
p. 769, l. 21,	For Alexandria of Abonoutica, read Alexander of Abonoteichus (Incidentally, Lucian of Antioch is very probably not speaking unkindly of Christians in this quote. Cf. Foakes-Jackson **Eusebius Pamphili**, p. 15).
p. 801, l. 19,	For Macrienus, read Macrianus (Cf. p. 806, l. 11, p. 807, l. 17, p. 1024, l. 11 and p. 1025, l. 28. See also p. 1050, l. 6 and 7.)
p. 811, n. 3,	For **Acts** of the Scillitan martyrs belong, read **Acts** of the Scillitan martyrs belongs.
p. 839, n. 86,	For **De monogamie**, read **De monogamia.**
p. 895, n. 1, l. 2,	For **Excerpta ex Theodota**, read either **Excerpta ex Theodoto** or **Excerpta Theodoti.**
p. 895, n. 1, l. 9,	For **uebersetz**, read **uebersetzt.**
p. 900, n. 26, l. 5,	For **Didascalia**, read **Didaskalos.**
p. 905, l. 3,	For given, read giving (as in Burns, Oates edition, III, p. 471).
p. 912, n. 66,	For **anotheg**, read **anothen**; and put breathing over the Epsilon instead of after the Kappa in the **ek** which follows.
p. 971, n. 68. 13,	For word, read Word.
p. 1017, n. 1, l. 9,	For Felto, read Feltoe (as in line 1, and elsewhere).
p. 1039, n. 9,	Harnack, I believe, had no part in Hahn's **Bibliothek.**
p. 1040, l. 13,	For **perichorsis**, read **perichoresis.**
p. 1054, n. 11,	For arrgument, read argument.
p. 1073, n. 10,	For **Judisch-christlicher**, read **Juedisch-christlicher.**
p. 1113, l. 12,	Final iota in **paroikiai** is inverted.
p. 1114, l. 25 f,	Greek breathings and accents.
p. 1120, n. 8, l. 12,	For Juellicher, read Juelicher (this also eliminates Juellicher from the Index, p. 1255).
p. 1120, n. 11,	Breathing on Epeidé, and iota subscript with té.

p. 1127, n. 18,	For (Klasse, read Klasse).
p. 1133, n. 23,	For **Time**, read **Times.**
p. 1133, n. 25,	For Bresgau, read Breisgau.
p. 1143, n. 1,	For Vol., read Bk.
p. 1162, n. 10, l. 1, 5,	For M. J. Rostovtzeff, read M. I. Rostovtzeff.
p. 1162, l. 9,	Breathing with the accent over iota in **oikous.**
p. 1191, n. 19,	Replace initial theta with phi in **thilaletheis.**
p. 1206, n. 16, l. 12	For **Gehronten**, read **Gekronten.**

Though marred by these too many typographical errors, the book is not greatly affected by them alone. Other things, of a more serious nature, weaken it.

These are, first, some vague, ambiguous or slightly incorrect footnotes. Cf. p. 35, n. 26, no title given; p. 63, n. 73b, *Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ* is written by Lebreton. This name goes with this title on p. 84, n. 15; p. 94, n. 22, and *passim;* p. 188, n. 29, Reuss not quoted before; p. 250, n. 20, editors of *Beginnings*, etc., are Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake; p. 312, n. 6, in the interests of clarity, read "in the year 780/26" or "in 780 A. U. C./26 A. D." (Chapot's note 3, in *loc. cit.*, reads *Ces evenements sont de l'annee* 780/26); p. 394, n. 4, the note may be ambiguously worded, but the reference seems certainly wrong; p. 440, nn. 1 and 5, the relationship of Veil's work to Hennecke's symposium is very vaguely put (cf. p. 466, n. 20).

Second, there are some weak sentences. Space forbids quotations and correction, but anyone interested may give a careful check to the following pages: 79, 84, 168, 238, 247 (n. 15), 542, 813, 897, 1015 (a redundancy), 1056 (an utterly useless sentence) and 1222 f.

Third, those who are accustomed to determining the meaning of Scriptural and Patristic statements on the basis of historical, grammatical and philological inquiry will occasionally be shocked at conclusions arrived at by authors Lebreton and Zeiller. A few times, a certain strangeness comes from the inadequacy of the Vulgate rendering—(cf. p. 186, n. 24, *acquievi* can mean *condescend* only in a secondary sense—and it certainly does not adequately translate *prosanethemen*: also, p. 202, l. 4, the equivalence of *assumpsi* for *proskeklemai* is simply beyond comprehension)—but usually the problem is much more serious.

A close notice of the following will indicate what the reviewer has in mind: p. 62, Paul's statement in *Philippians* is not in the same vein as Jesus' word recorded by *Matthew;* p. 88, l. 28, Mark's *hos peristeran* is an adverbial phrase of manner. The Holy Spirit descended as a dove descends—not as a dove looks!; p. 160, only those who can see a fixed hierarchy of ministry in the New Testament could see a triple Petrine investiture in *John* xxi. 10-24; p. 169, *fac poenitentiam* does not translate *metanoeite,* in *Acts* ii. 38, (cf. p. 230 and elsewhere); p. 265, n. 18, the text of I Corinthians xvi. 1; p. 267, there was no debate on christological or theological dogmas because, in the formal sense, no such dogmas existed to be debated upon—and, had they existed, they would not have belonged *per se* to the content of the apostolic *Kerygma;* p. 341, l. 3 and n. 15, why baptism and the Eucharist "in particular?" Are the other five sacraments, said in n. 15 to be present in the apostolic period, more difficult of authentication? It seems a shame that "we cannot give them special treament here," since many who can't find record of them at all in the New Testament, would be helped by such an exposition; p. 343, n. 24b, the burden of proof for such a statement is due from the author's side, since this is not substantiable by extant documents; p. 347, l. 22-30, it is remarks like this, historically and hermeneutically absurd, which do much to exasperate the reader (see n. 6, also); p. 439, in what sense is *Barnabas* spurious? And how much of the New Testament, is anonymous like the *Didache,* or by persons more unknown than was Hermas? This is simply a too easy way of dealing with undesirable testimony. But cf. the same fault p. 290 f, on archaeological testimony; p. 466, n. 20, *re* apocryphal testimony; p. 479, l. 18, what is described as being "impossible of doubt," is simply not impossible of doubt; p. 481, *re* Alexandria—the entire treatment is based upon wholly unconfirmed hypotheses; p. 1056, n. 17, where a very questionable quote is given unnecessary praise. It is about as sound to prove Roman primacy by Aurelian as Roman insignificance by Elagabal; p. 1113, *re* residential priests—the treatment is not only purely conjectural, but

reflects an inability to see any other than a hierarchial organization. With this may be contrasted the almost uncritical acceptance of any legendary material which may be found useful (cf. p. 291 f, n. 26). Further tabulation seems unnecessary. The same type of thing is to be found throughout Vol. II.

Fourth, and constituting the weakest feature of the book, are the multitude of unsupported inferences and presuppositions—occasioned more often than not by dogmatic precommitments uniquely Roman Catholic. Cf. p. 27, *re* blurring of "Roman" in its imperial and its ecclesiastical meanings; p. 67, "their celibacy"; p. 85, "their head and spokesman"; p. 93, "would form the hierarchy of the Church"; p. 99 f, *re* keys and Supper, (cf. p. 125 f and n. 50); p. 111, n. 39, interpretation of *Luke* i. 34 (cf. p. 119, n. 46); p. 145 f and n. 78, *re* the Eucharist; p. 162 f, for *Acts* to ignore Roman "primacy" and not carry Peter to Rome is, on the authors' Ultramontane presuppositions, utterly impossible of explanation; p. 165, *St.* (!) Matthias, of whom nothing is known before or since—and on l. 31 ff, the leadership of Peter in the election of Matthias suggests papal supremacy about as much as does the calling for a vote by a Baptist deacon; p. 174, "hierarchial authority"; p. 178, is there no more connection than this between *diaconos* and *hazan?;* p. 195 f and n. 1, Peter, in the reviewer's judgment, would be rather surprised to know that he was once "bishop" of Antioch; p. 197, l. 3-6, it is most passing strange that anything so strong in the church, even "from the first," as the "hierarchical spirit" should nowhere in all the New Testament be explicitly mentioned; p. 208, the "authority of the notables" is, *per se*, no part of the question. Rather is Paul concerned with their good will, the consistency of the evangelical proclamation, and the unity of the Christian fellowship and work. Had they enjoyed dogmatic authority (for surely this matter pertains to doctrine) Paul's very appearance before them would itself have been gratuitous; p. 210b, Peter's "grave and authoritative declaration," recorded in *Acts* xv. 7-11, is only the first testimonial of that particular

meeting of the church. There is nothing in it which sets it apart, as in any way authoritative, from the words of Barnabas and Paul, or of James. It narrates as a *fact,* that God began the evangelization of the Gentiles through his mouth. It asserts Peter's belief in the common vocation of Gentile and Jew. It questions, in hortatory tone, the wisdom of the course being pursued by some and being urged by them upon all. It concludes with a testimony. The entire congregation, along with Apostles and elders, makes the final decision. Outside of its not being in itself "authoritative," and outside of its not being, in any dogmatic sense, a "declaration,"—I suppose one might call it an "authoritative declaration." (Other references to this problem may be found p. 212, 214 f, 266, and 285, where one may find one of the most powerful *tours de force* in logic in either volume); p. 215, Pere Lebreton seems to feel that Barnabas was led astray by Peter's authority. Paul thought it was by Peter's hypocrisy; p. 243, the Cephas-clique in Corinth, (cf. I *Cor.* iii, and Eusebius, *H. E.* II. xxv. 8), no more testifies to Petrine headship than it does to Pauline or Appolline; p. 246, l. 28, there is no association in the New Testament of the Eucharist and a "sacrificial banquet." Even in the quotation selected (I *Cor.* x. 16) the chalice is "blessed," and bread is "partaken." Neither is "offered"; p. 389, l. 11, indeed it is correct to say of the first ten lines, "all of this is merely conjectural;" p. 406 f, one might almost suppose that the pious (!) Emperor Commodus himself had quite a conference with Pope Victor on this matter, since "the two powers, ecclesiastical and imperial, agreed in the application of the decision made;" p. 478 ff, one of the truly amazing pieces of the book. In this section the writer shows how to ignore the testimony of the *Liber pontificalis, First Clement,* and the *Shepherd* in so far as it touches on the early episcopate. Against the natural meaning of these documents it is rather thought (p. 480, l. 1-7) that the monarchical episcopate in Rome is guaranteed by its presence in Syria as witnessed by the Ignatian letters. If contemporary Roman Catholic ecclesiology were true there would have been at

least one *specific* witness to Roman primacy somewhere in the *New Testament or Apostolic Fathers.* To believe current Roman claims would be similar to believing in Reconciliation, Sin, Grace, or the Saviourhood of Jesus Christ as essential Christian doctrine, without any definite reference to any of them in the *New Testament* or early *Fathers.* P. 477, the section dealing with the "Charity and Fraternity" of the Primitive church, deals much more with "Unity" which is the subject of the succeeding subdivision. This is indicative, in the reviewer's judgment, of a wrongly oriented ecclesiasticism. The truth seems to be that Romanism, in theory and in performance (like much of Protestantism in actual practice), cannot take simply and seriously the meaning of *koinonia* as being near to the essence of Christianity —and so cannot, in their own context, avoid giving a new and strange connotation to *agape.* P. 490 f, the relationship of Irenaeus to Rome is treated very unsatisfactorily. It is difficult to understand why M. Zeiller (p. 491, n. 12) gives us no idea that equally learned fellow-Catholics have frankly said that *Irenaeus'* testimony in *Haer.* III. iii. 2 conveys less Roman sentiment than is here adduced. Duchesne says of this passage in *Les Origines du culte chretien,* p. 445 f, *La vraie doctrine est pour lui celle qu'enseignent les eglises apostoliques* (note the plural); *parmi celles-ci la premiere est l'eglise de Rome; mais Irenee cite egalement l'eglise de Smyrne et la tradition de saint Polycarpe.* The treatment on pp. 724, 1123, 1143 is equally unsatisfactory. P. 494, it is quite interesting to note that in this section on *The Popes of the First Century,* there is one unconditional statement: *viz.,* that Clement was contemporary with Domitian. Every other one is conditioned by "may," "if," "might," "uncertain," "perhaps," "almost unknown," etc. This is of course as it should be since the first century had no popes. Space forbids further tabulation. Volume II might be analyzed in the same manner.

Particularly, the reviewer wishes to call attention to the following unsatisfactory sections: There are no simple references to Simon Peter. Each one, taken from context,

doctrinally reoriented, or historically misapplied is *used* in the interest of Petrine supremacy. And further, the most unsatisfactory parts of the two volumes are the sections on Cyprian. This first, great Anglican is consistently treated as a witness to the supreme dogmatic and disciplinary authority of the Roman Bishop. Not even Procrustes could have accomplished this with Cyprian. There is, also, some fault in the authors' reading modern connotations into ancient situations or words such as "penance," "hierarchy," etc. Cf. further: p. 129, 284 f, etc., "apostolic college"; p. 202, "performing the liturgy," for *leitourgounton;* p. 423, n. 13 "priests" for presbyters; p. 463, last line, "the Mass"; p. 478, l. 17 f, a too exclusive association before cir. A.D. 150, of the episcopate with the apostolate at the expense of the presbyterate; p. 748, l. 1, "oblation"; and p. 827, n. 47, too formal notion of creedal development. The question is not one of freedom from "glosses and comments," but of early variation of form.

The final adverse criticism is easier to observe in another than to avoid in onself. In kindness, attention is called to some sentences rendered unsatisfactory by high generalization or unrealistic expression. (Cf. pp. 27, 52, 83, 163, 166, 224, 228, 300, 317 f, 322, 340, 408, 411 f, 421, 443, 449, 489, 490, 542 (n. 3), 566, 618, 627, 633, 641, 651, 712, 867, and 1030). There is also a translator's *lapsus calami,* p. 273, l. 2, where Paul is pictured as appealing to Caesar over the head of Felix. It should have read "Festus" as in the French edition, Vol. I., p. 215.

It is surely, now, time to reverse the canvas and indicate the brighter and better side. This is a good, and in some ways, great book. The merits outweigh the flaws. Let us turn more cheerfully to their mention.

First, the notes are one of the really numerous excellencies of the work. They compare, contrast, rebut and complement the opinions of many writers ancient and modern. In some, a short history of an idea or an interpretation will be compactly covered, (cf. p. 421, n. 9, and others). They show the major points at issue between the Roman Catholic

and the non-Roman Catholic use of materials and points of view. They indicate in the authors an unusually wide range of reading and mastery of subject, (cf. p. 29, n. 7; p. 68, n. 92; p. 78, n. 54; p. 185 f, n. 24; p. 209, n. 8; p. 236, n. 37; p. 522, n. 7; p. 575, n. 19; p. 467, n. 21; p. 424, n. 18; p. 867, n. 73; p. 897, n. 10; etc.).

Second, the writing-style of the book, authors' and translator's, is good. The English is, with the above exceptions, easy and lucid. Some sentences are exceptionally pungent or brilliant (cf. on pages 62, 136, 174, 189 f, 244, 310, 746 f, and others). Transition sentences are well worded and exact.

Third, the bibliographical notices at the beginning of chapters are, with the exception of a few curious omissions, well chosen and helpful. Perhaps the best contribution at this point is not so much the primary listings, which are well known, at least by name, to others than the beginner—but rather the predominant mention of secondary French works. American students are probably more familiar with English and German Church Historians than with French.

Fourth, the authors' ability to cover a great deal in brief compass, maintaining balance and perspective, is obvious on many pages. Cf. p. 26, *re* development of Christianity within the Empire; p. 46, the Jewish People; p. 62, the Pharisees; p. 172 f, the Life of the Christians; p. 355 f, Pagan Gnosticism; p. 376f, juridical character of the persecutions, p. 661 f, struggle against heresy; p. 1150 f, church in the eyes of the Empire, etc.

In view of the scope which could be allowed for major aspects of this study, this reviewer found the remarks on Gnosticism, pp. 617-641, and insofar as one excludes its reception by Roman Bishops, Monarchianism, pp. 730-739, to be the most satisfactory sections.

The entire series, of which these volumes are the first two, is written by the best Roman Catholic Church historians in France. Many of the authors have possibly retired by now, (Lebreton, b. 1873; Zeiller, b. 1878), and bring to fruitage in these volumes the labor of many years. It

is possibly the most impressive "History of the Church" to be produced by Roman Catholics since Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici,* 1588 ff.

Father Lebreton has had a wider reading public than has his collaborator Zeiller. He wrote, many years ago, a well known *Histoire du dogme de la Trinite.* His *Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ* in two volumes, has just been reissued in one, by Burns, Oates, London, (21s.). He wrote the long, second chapter in Baron Descamps' widely circulated *Historie generale comparee des Missions,* Brussels, 1932. As recently as 1947, Beauchesne Editeurs, Paris, published his *Lumen Christi, La doctrine spirituelle du Nouveau Testament.*

Zeiller is the author of *Les Origines Chretiennes dans la province romaine de Dalmatie,* Paris, 1906; *Les Origines Chretiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain,* Paris, 1919(?); *L'Empire romain et l'Eglise,* 1928; and many articles. He is more of a specialist and research student, and less of a compiler and interpreter than Lebreton —(true, despite his heavy leaning on Duchesne, especially in chapter XXXI). Both men draw heavily on their earlier published works, and upon the standard books in the field. The authors' are as heavily indebted to Harnack's works as they are often unhappy with his conclusions. Lebreton has also been often dependent on the Foakes-Jackson, K. Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity.* So long as it is done openly, (and granting the authors' point of departure, the reviewer sees fair dealing throughout), their use of others' work for their own purposes is entirely legitimate. Without attaching to the authors therefore, the opporbrium which Harnack apparently intended in his remark regarding Christianity's use of Judaism, one may apply his pungent words to our authors' use of Protestant works: *Die Tochter verstoesst die Mutter, nachdem sie sie ausgepluendert!*

The treatment is more ample but less satisfactory than Lietzmann's first two volumes of the *History of the Early Church.* There is also less of historical objectivity and more of ecclesiastical bias than characterizes the work of

their Protestant compatriot Goguel. It is hoped that someone is already at work on the translation of his *Naissance du* Christianisme, 1946, and *L'Eglise primitive,* 1947.

A close reading and pondering of this important work, by Lebreton and Zeiller, has led the reviewer to feel it should be given more than usual notice for its merits, and more than casual answer to its point of view.

One may wonder whether a convinced Romanist historian and a critically trained Protestant historian are even setting their hands to the same task, and with the same purpose, when each begins a "History of the Church." For example, despite the vast erudition of MM. Lebreton and Zeiller, and their broad knowledge of Christian history, one even makes bold to suggest that in any basic and ultimate sense this is not in so many respects a Church History at all. It is primarily a group of essays, built on a unifying theme, of Roman Catholic piety, apologetic and dogmatic. Its ultimate purpose seems to be not the examination of documents and other sources with a view to arriving at their separate and combined meaning—but the substantiation of a meaning, already held, by the "proper" treatment or even manipulation of the documents. If history throws unfavorable light on the distinctively Roman ecclesiastical claims, then this history (which is relative) must be interpreted by dogma (which is final and absolute). To arrive at history dogmatically is exactly opposite (and antithetical) to arriving at dogma historically. This is meant to impugn not the authors' convictions and sincerity, but what is believed to be a radically wrong methodology and an ultimately vicious principle. By making the object of one's historical investigation (the Church) into the authoritative criterion of its own evaluation, the most amazing results can be obtained. By this a *priori* method and authoritarian principle—which Romanists so largely share with Protestant Fundamentalists in a spiritual kinship they both disclaim—the very sovereignty of God over history and over the Church is denied and the nature of authority is subverted.

Some effort to indicate and to justify this estimate is the essence of the concluding remarks on rather obvious themes.

Sectarianism. The Roman Church is more sectarian than catholic. Though, like Israel (cf. p. 314), she may comprise amongst her elect some from every tribe—and beyond to multitudes of every nation, tribe, people and tongue—the crown of "Catholic" rests uneasily upon her brow. Sectarianism adheres not so much to homogeneity of constituency (as is negatively implied, lines 6 ff) as to exclusivistic attitude and policy. Following the dogmatic developments of A.D. 1854 and more especially A.D. 1870, her future tendency must increasingly be in the sectarian direction. Universal extension can be claimed by many Christian groups. Even we Baptists, who are accounted (and largely justly) to be notorious sectaries, may be found in virtually all geographic areas and among most ethnic groups. Universal extension is not catholicity. It may be local custom, restrictive particularism and dogmatic self-containedness inflated to grand scale.

Peter among the Twelve. Since the Faith is one and unchangeable—*Quod ubique, semper et ab omnibus creditum est*—and since ecclesiastical and papal infallibility is now dogma—*ergo* the Church rested on Peter as on a rock, it was hierarchically graded from the first, taught and governed by the "apostolic college" with Peter as its infallible head. Evidence for this is *Mt.* xvi, 16-19 and *Jno.* xxi, 15-19 —texts in which all Christians can rejoice. This primacy is further shown in Peter's initiative in the election of Matthias, in his Pentecostal preaching, etc. One soberly, with great appreciation for Simon Peter, suggests that this more accurately indicates that Peter was a sanguine, talkative activist than that he was Pope. Paul's care "to put himself in touch with Peter" (*Gal.* i, 18), etc., shows that Peter was Pope. Even in the way in which a group of Corinthians forms a Cephas-clique (I Cor. i, 12) indicates his papal dignity! Just in what manner this is more suggestive of Peter's primacy than of Paul's or Appollos' is not stated. Even the bringing by the church of the price

of their possessions to the Apostles' feet, shows that "all power was committed to their hands" (Cf. pp. 346 ff).

To be quite direct, this whole scheme of interpretation is verbally and religiously foreign to the New Testament and the earliest Fathers. Such conclusions can be arrived at only in crayfish manner and on presuppositions of ecclesiastical infallibility. Such thinking and such conclusions belong to Hildebrand, Innocent III, Boniface VIII, to Pius V and the *Catechismus Romanus,* to Bellarmine, to Pius IX and the Council of the Vatican, but they are either absent or denied in the New Testament, in the fathers to Irenaeus, in the early Councils, in some of Rome's own theologians, and in much that was best of early Medieval Christianity. Even a council which Rome herself calls ecumenical and infallible (Constance, 1414-1418) deposed popes and declared that by natural, divine and canon law the Pope is subject to the General Council. It was even ruled that the authority of church and councils is undiminished without the pope. This decision by an infallible council was later reversed by an infallible pope.

Ignatius of Antioch. Having told us (p. 422) that the episcopate is presented as both a "ruling authority" and a "priesthood" in I *Clem.* (ch. xliv) and in the *Didache* (ch. xv —apparently being a wrong reference to ch. xiv), Dean Lebreton tells us that the episcopate "has the same character in Ignatius." It needs first of all be said that the transitional Christianity to be found between the New Testament and Old Catholicism employs a terminology which in the former would be often symbolic and in the latter frequently literal. The overall tone of *Clement* and the *Didache* go more congenially with the symbolic interpretation. Next comes the quote from Ignatius (*Smyrn.* viii, 1-2) in the entirety of which there is not the slightest single hint of priestly functioning. From p. 424, one would hardly learn that Ignatius' episcopate was local (non-diocesan) and charismatic (not dependent upon apostolic succession-ordination). One truly learns, p. 424, that the Church was "not a friendly group of scattered communities with no bond between

them," but "truly a unity created by Jesus Christ." This does not say anything, however, about what kind of communities these groups actually were, what kind of bonds held them together, or what kind of unity was their common substructure. Indeed one is left to infer that they were identical with present-day Rome. On p. 425, some *facts* stated by Ignatius (*Romans* i, iii, ix) are interpreted as timeless ecclesiastical principles. Even these passages which are selected as his "witness of great weight" to the Roman primacy, make no reference to Roman *primacy.* There is not a phrase in Ignatius, bearing on this question, which does not have a simpler and more realistic sense if taken opposite to the Roman Catholic interpretation. Examination of the Ignatian doctrine of the Eucharist is deserving of an essay or book in itself, and cannot be dealt with here. The reviewer personally feels, however, that, on the one hand, Ignatius must largely be interpreted in the evangelical tradition, and that, on the other, there is an element in him here, as in his understanding of "Faith," which is of dubious apostolicity. It is further felt that too much is made (p. 453 f) of the supererogatory and subordinationist aspects of Ignatius' teaching. On the former Ignatius gives but a fluid hint in symbolic language. The latter is, in itself, open to alternative interpretation, and certainly must be viewed against the background of the peculiar sort of heresy which he was refuting. He says unambiguously enough that Jesus was with the Father from eternity (*Magn.* vi. 1; cf. further *Magn.* xiii. 1, vii. 2; *Eph.* xviii. 2; *Smyrn.* i. 1-2, etc.—which should resolve the authors' doubts on Ignatius' Christology).

Succession, Tradition and Heresy. The emphasis on church and doctrinal succession is out of proportion to what such succession can guarantee. The "chain of tradition" which links the Church to the apostles, the apostles to Christ and Christ to God does not guarantee the faith it passes on (cf. p. 470). If, for example, the succession *guaranteed* the authenticity of the tradition, then heresy or schism would seem to be impossible. For how could

one defect from what is *infallibly* transmitted? Tertullian may serve as an illustration. He certainly was in the succession. He was one of the foremost formulators of the Latin tradition, and is said by Lebreton (p. 815) to have given "a new form and efficacity" to the "classic thesis on tradition" by his "argument of prescription." One may be referred to Praesc. xv. 1-3; xxi. 1-7; xxviii, 3; xxix, 4; xxx; xxxii, quotations given by Lebreton (p. 827 f).[1] But Tertullian became schismatic, and in a sense, heretical. If the bearer of tradition himself can fall into schism and heresy, in what sense can the Tradition be said to be infallible? What function does it infallibly perform? How can later "Saints," in this case Cyprian, refer to such schismatics as "Master"? How can bishops, the successors to the Apostles, and the authoritative channels of the true tradition defect therefrom? What use must be made, for example, of the total testimony of Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia? (Cf. p. 774 f). How does one lose hold of authentic tradition? By carelessness? Ignorance? Or wilfulness and pride? And how does one know—except very much later *post eventum*—when the bearer of the Tradition has himself forsaken it? Is it merely majority consensus? Is Tradition merely what has the greatest staying power—that which lasts until the issues are no longer live ones and so can be safely promulgated as dogma? And how valuable is a dogma which cannot be officially relied upon until the urgency and fluidity of the original *Kerygma* have cooled and ossified?

The strongest conviction which has come to the reviewer through the reading of this work is that the Roman

1. M. Lebreton's attention might profitably be called to ch. xxxviii of the **Praescriptio** (which chapter is skipped between references to ch. xxxvii and xxix given on p. 829) where Tertullian says, "What is there in our Scriptures which is contrary to us? What of our own have we introduced, that we should have to take it away again, or else add to it, or alter it, in order to restore to its natural soundness anything which is contrary to it, and contained in the Scriptures?" And with this should be joined two passages from Augustine's **de doctrina Christiana** (i. 36-37 and ii. 9), where he plainly feels that any deviation from Scripture would indicate a false note in the Church's teaching.

Church not only does not, but, by its own standards, cannot understand Tradition. By taking its stand on the infallibility of its own interpretation, it is obliged to expound, to judge, to excise, or even to distort the tradition in harmony with the totality of its own dogmatic structure. It is this dogmatic structure which is transmitted. The pattern of the Tradition is cut to fit the body of dogma—not *vice versa.* Thus whenever Irenaeus, for example, can be interpreted in a manner pleasing to a present-day Roman Catholic, the testimony shows that Irenaeus was a Catholic Doctor. But when Irenaeus says something which contemporary Rome does not approve, as concerning the Millennium (where he was followed by Tertullian and Hippolytus), the authors can only speak of "this error," or refer to the "widespread belief in Jewish eschatology," and deprecatingly compare this teaching with his theology which "elsewhere (is) always so measured and prudent." (Cf. p. 686). Then one is always free on this subject to turn aside and quote someone else.

This manner of dealing separates Tradition from those who bear and transmit it. It ignores that Irenaeus' *total thought and life* were a part of the stream of Tradition. It depersonalizes it, while simultaneously it ascribes to it a semi-hypostatic independence. By such inverted treatment, Tradition itself becomes modern—it requires moderns to sift, to select, to interpret and to vindicate it. The infallibility based on such Tradition is affirmable only dogmatically. It cannot be received undiluted as it flowed through history. But by this means, dogma precedes tradition, and conclusions are held before evidence is read. Church *History,* in any realistic sense, becomes impossible, and more properly becomes an adjunct to the department of the cure of souls and the edification of the Church.

The Church and State and Society. These sections (cf. pp. 1154-1159, 1216-1226) are written in a highly generalized style, with almost all the documentation being from pacifist and separatists who are interpreted as not meaning what they say and whom the author is aiming to rebut. What is

left unsaid is much weightier than what is said. The great and carefully documented work of C. N. Cochrane (*Christianity and Classical Culture*) and C. J. Cadoux (*The Early Church and the World*) will serve to correct the faulty perspective presented here. Such a statement as "Christians . . . did not hesitate to become . . . soldiers" (p. 1155 f) can only refer to the late second century and following—and even then is not fully accurate. We are not told that there is no certain evidence of Christians being in the Imperial Army before the incident of the "Thundering Legion" in the time of Marcus Aurelius (mentioned by Tertullian in *Apol.* v, and *Scap.* iv, and elsewhere). That there was "no anti-militarist declaration" (p. 1156), should not surprise us when we recall that there was no anti-slavery, anti-secret order, or anti-anything type of declaration. The Christian ethic and strategy came at evil from another angle. The simple truth is that the overwhelming number of Ante-Nicene witnesses are pacifist-inclined and lend no sanction to war. This is most inescapably true of Tertullian and of Origen. That Christians increasingly began to fill army ranks is obvious—but there is repeated opposition to that trend until the Church more or less adopts the Ciceronian theory of the Just War through its exposition and approbation by Augustine. Already in Ambrose, near the end of the fourth century, the ideas "Roman=Christian" and "heretic=barbarian" had partially fused.

At least from the time of Nero to that of Diocletian and Galerius, the conviction that Christianity was incompatable with *Romanitas* was expressed in violent repression. If "their sentiments did not run counter to the true interests of the Roman idea in trying to realize the Christian ideal" (p. 1219), why were the Christians repeatedly martyred? If the attitude of the early Christians was as congenial toward Rome as M. Zeiller would have us think, why could not a *modus vivendi,* mutually satisfactory and beneficial, been as easily arrived at between Christianity and Rome as between Judaism and Rome? Came the time when Rome and Christianity could dwell together in peace. But by

then Rome certainly was no longer Rome. Was Christianity still Christianity? The too-successful Church of all the later "Christian" Empires might do well to recollect and reflect upon the days when she was dependent upon God and unafraid of man, when to violence and abuse were returned no armed or legal violence—when she could speak with convicting and convincing power because she was offering a kingdom with a Cross and not the *status quo* with its comfort.

Translation into English of the French third (*De la paix constantinienne a la mort de Theodose* by Labriolle, Bardy and Palanque), fourth (*De la mort de Theodose a l'avenement de Gregoire le Grand* by Labriolle, Bardy, Brehier and Plinval), and possibly the fifth volumes (*Gregoire le Grand, les Etats barbares et la conquete arabe* by Brehier and Aigrain) is scheduled for appearance under the comprehensive title of *The Church in the Christian Roman Empire.* For a series of this scope and importance, translation of the whole, in time, would seem likely and certainly desirable.

The Golden Day

By Albert D. Belden

The true approach to the Sunday question for the Christian disciple, and church, is not from the Old Testament but from the New. Trite as such a statement may seem, it cannot be too strictly emphasized for it means all the difference between law and gospel, a legal atmosphere of outward observance and a spiritual atmosphere of inward reverence and delight. The name Sunday, of course, goes back to Northern European mythology—the Day of the Sun, yet the assumption of the name is splendidly appropriate to the meaning of the First day of the week for the first Christians. For them it marked the weekly celebration of the most memorable day in their experience. The day on which the Sun of their souls, eclipsed in death, broke forth in new and eternal splendor, dispelling forever the "darkness of the shadow of death." The Day was for them, therefore, a recurring Gospel, a repeated paean of rapturous praise. It was a Day with no least touch of gloom upon it, and for that reason a Day that never could be like the other days of a work-a-day week. It was THE DAY OF THE LORD. It is this meaning and this atmosphere the modern church must recapture and emphasize if Sunday is to live once more in the imagination, reverence and practice of mankind. Let us think of this heritage of the church then as yielding:

1. *A Legacy of Happiness.* Sunday is a radiant day—the Golden Day. To draw down the blinds, to pronounce solemn anathemas on innocent joy, to drive hard legal bargains with a people's desire for happy fellowship and recreation, is to deny the spirit of the Lord's Day. It has its own appropriate solemnities and right and strict observances but its first note is joy, radiant joy, and we must not rub the bloom off the day. It stands in Christian theory and history as an effulgent orb shedding rays of deathless hope and unfailing kindliness. It is a Day to be infinitely grateful for and one, therefore, in which we must refuse to be bored or to bore. Dulness on this day is intolerable. It is the Day of

the Sun—the supremely happy day of all the seven—the day when human resources of joy are replenished and from which life leaps to the work of the world refreshed from the very Fountain of Life. Is this the legacy of Sunday to most Christians? To Christian adolescent life for example? How unutterably boring Sunday is to the average school boy! It is a crucial test. It was the Sabbatarians who tried to damp the full joy of Christ and His disciples as they passed over the cornfields of Palestine and drew from Him that charter of liberty, "The Sabbath was made for man." What a supreme irony it is that in defence of Christ's New Day people should still be repeating the lugubrious narrowness of the Pharisees! Here then is a primary emphasis. Sunday must be the Day of the Sun of Suns—the Master of Joy.

2. *A Legacy of Worship.* The Day of Resurrection became inevitably a day of worship. This was especially so for Gentile Christians after Paul had swept away the Judaizing policy of the Jerusalem Church. But even for the first Jewish Christians who still used the Temple Services, the New Day tended to become a Day of praise to the Risen Lord and of assembling for Christian prayer, meditatian and fellowship with the followers of the faith. Pliny's famous letter to Trajan relating how the Christians "sing a hymn to Christ as God" shows how inevitably the Risen Saviour drew to Himself the adoration of His disciples on this Day of Days.

And we may well go on to ask where would Christian worship have been but for that tradition? Could it have thrived and developed in bondage to the Jewish Sabbath—severed from that thrilling association with Resurrection and New Life? Would it not have succumbed inevitably to the paralysis of the old dispensation? Or again, how could the Divine Flame have been kept alive in Christian hearts through the Christian centuries, without this regular Rekindling Day—this opportunity for the soul, hewn out of the all-consuming materialism of everyday life? Folk who are fond of saying glibly that one day is as holy as another must face the much greater probability of every day being

equally unholy. To rescue from the greedy maw of the world's life one day of that seven—and that the very first day of the seven—is a master-stroke on behalf of the spirituality of mankind. This is too vital an element in our heritage to squander or to lose for our children and children's children.

3. *A Legacy of Fellowship.* Sunday has been an essential factor in the existence and continuity of the church. The first Christians were humble people for the most part and that meant they were hard-working non-leisured folk. Probably their only chance of assembling together was on the Day of Days. On that Day, therefore, not only would there be worship, but the transaction of church business—real business too, such as making provision for the widow and the orphan, finding work for the unemployed, arranging for the care of the sick or of those in need of any kind, for the entertainment of Christians from other places, and for the help of any that had been arrested and imprisoned. Think of all the work of the church crowded into the one unique opportunity of this one day per week! But this program, dictated by circumstances must have given an intensely practical climax to the Day's worship. It made it a Day of Service as well as of Services—of Sacrifice as well as of Sacrifices. And in such mutual sacrifice for each other's benefit—from all according to their ability, to all according to their need—what a profound depth of fellowship must have been experienced! But even in later times, when the church's business found provision made for it on other days of the week, it was still an invaluable contribution to the cohesiveness of the church that once a week a full day was set aside in which Christians were free to meet and in which they could delight fully in one another's presence and intercourse. The effect of Sunday upon the solidarity of Christians has been vital. The organization of the church could not have gone forward successfully without it.

4. *A Legacy of moral character and conduct.* In a very real sense the development of sound Christian charac-

ter and the achievement of a true Christian life are matters of time. If the world runs away with all one's time and energy in the service of the physical and material life, religion and true morality become impossible. T. R. Glover tells us that the first Christians triumphed over paganism because, unlike the heathen, they lived the "examined" life. The opportunity for reflection and the constraints to aspiration, penitence, and faith, afforded by Sunday made that "examined" life possible. If in these modern times with our jealousy and legally guarded leisure we nevertheless find—

"the world is too much with us,
Getting and spending we lay waste our powers,"

what must it have been for the slaves of Rome and the dockers of Corinth and for an apostle paying his way, on a world-tour of evangelism, by tent-making? If the world tempts us sorely today to betray the ideal we have seen in the Risen Christ, what must it have been like when Christians men and women were thrown to the lions or burnt to make a Roman holiday? What must Sunday with its worship and fellowship and radiantly happy memories have meant to them in view of their need for moral impetus and spiritual renewals?

The Golden Day has been the Church's health-day, its day in the Sun, throughout the centuries even when it has been least sunny in its observance. As the body deprived of its heritage of sunlight perishes, so the church, so the soul of man, will perish, if we permit this heritage of spiritual sunshine to be filched away or ruined by neglect or caricatured by a pagan Sabbatarianism. The Golden Day must be preserved pure and undefiled for our generation and ensured to the humanity that is to be.

Concerning Unwritten Traditions of the Church*

A TRANSLATION

Leo T. Crismon
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(Chapter Three)

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I have always taught that the Lord's day should be observed; however, those things which have been practiced and handed down from the time of the apostles do not influence me; but this is my opinion and these things are by faith, that I do not think that those things ought to be observed which are not written in the sacred scriptures. But I could wish that you would so help me that I would for that reason not be contentious, nor withstand you, nor persistently cleave to my heresy and opinion so that I may truly free my conscience and, while assenting to your word, shun temptation.

DOCTOR MARK, THE TREASURER

You promised me that you would not be obstinate nor stubborn but that you would be willing to submit to sound doctrine and friendly explanation, which is truly necessary, since it is established from the sacred scriptures that infants can be made safe. And you ought to defend this understanding of the scriptures with the universal church. How can they be saved if you condemn them or certainly call into doubt and into question the matter of their salvation? You ought to return to your senses by reason of the example of Christ, who having become man (Isa. 53:6, 7) endured the bitterest death by which he saved us as sheep and he was offered up because it was his own will.[1]

DOCTOR FABER

It is from my heart for sake of your salvation and of your unsound and seared conscience that I decided because of other things in this manner to have a discussion with you especially concerning two matters; first, whether it was

fitting that only those things be established in the church which have been approved by the most evident testimonies of scripture; or, second, it were possible for things to be done on a par with the authority of the Gospel, or rather, without affront to Christ, as in the baptism of children, in the sacrament, then also in the sacrifice of the altar and in such ordinances and rites of religion; whether the sacred domestic church has stood in error for more than a thousand years, all the way to Luther's times, Zwingli's, Oecolampadius', your own and the times of the other seditious and pertinacious evangelists; whether our forefathers as sheep wandering in a desert without a shepherd have been abandoned and deserted. Concerning the latter statement we will talk later in our present discussion, but now by the grace of the great God we will take up the former.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

The suggestion is pleasing to me and so far I have been of this opinion, that nothing ought to have been established by the church nor ought to be held today unless it has been clearly exhibited by sacred literature.

DOCTOR FABER

I certainly believe differently and I affirm (what you are at least not able to deny) that our Savior did not leave another written Gospel except (as Paul teaches) that written on the hearts of the apostles and on our hearts. To be sure, these are the words of the apostle in Hebrews VIII (verse 10; Jer. 31:33) "This is the statement which I will make to the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord: I will give my laws into their mind, and in their heart I will write them." By this law love has been diffused in our hearts according to Romans V (verse 5) and this is that epistle written in our hearts concerning which again Paul, a herald of the truth, writes in 2 Cor. III (verse 3), "Written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart." In this manner we have accepted the faith of the Gospel and

of the New Testament through the Holy Spirit which was given to us, not, however, as the law of Moses cut on tables of stone.

But not all the apostles left writings of their preaching. For in fact there were only four who agreed that the Gospel should be written at that time. Two of these were disciples of the Lord, Matthew and John; that is, the first in order and the last. The other two were disciples of the disciples, Mark a disciple of Peter, and Luke a disciple of Paul. The gospel was not first written and then spoken, but it was much earlier both spoken and observed, then they committed it to monuments of writing. After that, Matthew in Judea, Mark in Alexandria, Luke in Bithynia, and John in Asia, divine heralds, planted the word of Christ. And much later when he had planted Christ in Asia, John being more advanced in years was constrained at the time of Trajan to write against Ebion and Cerinthus who were then flourishing, the most bitter enemies of the marvellous word which had been before the world was founded, even from eternity. These things which I speak are confirmed by Luke's preface to Theophilus. Moreover, it is well known that the church of Christ at Jerusalem in the beginning, composed of a hundred and twenty men (Acts 1:15), then three thousand and five thousand, and at length even more (mention of whom is made often in the Book of Acts and in other books of scripture), since the Gospel was directed by the Holy Spirit, was governed by the unanimous and harmonious will of all the faithful and by a unanimity arrived at by faith, since, as the scripture says (Acts 4: 32), there was but one heart and one soul in the multitude of those who believed.

However, this assemblage of yours, filled with fury, dissensions, and reproaches, has not come from God, but from the leader of darkness. Therefore, you must admit to me that both a worthless and sinister eye is in the authors and leaders of seditions who have directed their vision not where the spirit of truth called but where the allurements of the flesh incited, so that from loss to others,

contrary to government authority, they have become rich. Are you willing for that saying against certain rulers, "We are unwilling for this one to rule over us" (Luke 19:14), to be spoken against you and on that account for it to happen to you as once to the Romans, that the God of vengeance let loose a spirit of error and you be given up to a reprobate sense so that you would think the things which are not becoming and do the things which are not lawful (Romans 1:28)? O the times! O the customs! O the spectacle! pleasing to you alone, very repulsive to all the pious. Do you observe your government divided into factions unheard-of in all ages, and from it, O woe! a thing of madness or, shall I say even of impiety, derived? so that there are not only separate regions, separate towns, separate communities, but even separate homes and almost the corners and in these where your fury and passion seize everyone, separate men distinguished by various interests have united their own faith, and having despised the general fellowship of the faithful they have established their own way for themselves, having been deceived by false freedom and empty conviction.

Set before your eyes the great and populous cities of Germany, how that, having been lulled to sleep by truly fatal poison and having allowed a stain, indelible for many generations, and a disaster to become rooted and to crawl in more deeply, they have put on instead of faith a persuasion which is empty, discordant and shrinking back from every sense of truth and piety, and they have maintained and cherished it in their imprudence. Yet you dare to have such impudence that you continue to deny that this new faith of yours (if this is to be called a faith and not rather a very great perfidy of factious men made arrogant by tenacious zeal for little glory) was brought from the extreme darkness of the infernal regions.

Finally, observe the result and the unchangeableness of your teaching. The influence which, first having suffered your decrees, which were spread by sweet poison among the citizens, to be scattered with the same spirit through the

unrestrained multitude, then having embraced them with greatest eagerness, held them fast, these now having been moved by no less vehemence trouble your sect of the Anabaptists; they frustrate and persecute them; they seize now this one, now that one; they consider them deserving of imprisonment, tortures, and all sorts of punishment, as your Hut,[2] a false apostle throughout Silesia, Moravia, Austria and other provinces. In Augsburg, when he had prepared to experience death for himself, having been burned to ashes justly by Vulcan the avenger, he underwent the punishment for the fraud of his conceived irreverence. At Nikolsburg in your crowd he raised the most wicked questions against Christ, the only son of the great God, and led astray the minds of the most of the simple folks beset most craftily by shrewd hypocrites.

I have desired the more to tell these things in regard to this matter that you may learn briefly that the Gospel was manifested first by the instruction of Christ and that his power and the interpretation of him rests not in the letter which kills (2 Cor. 3:6) but in the unity of the spirit and in the spiritual harmonious agreement of faithful souls, because, if it did not, we could expect no end of evils, so many strange tales of heresies as new authors, prophets and interpreters of the Bible emerge, and altogether so many as there are differences of opinion.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I admit all these things. Doubtless there have always been found some false prophets who corrupt the word. But I would gladly hear from what testimony of scripture you are able to teach that a Christian is bound to hold something which it has not been expressly stated in the scripture to observe, because, if it should be, whoever chose to do so could impose upon me to believe or do whatever be wished. There would not be any limit to laws governing Christians.

DOCTOR FABER

Your ears, as you should see, itch exceedingly and seek the name of a true prophet, as though we all, more-

over, were indeed living in error and, what I greatly wonder at, even your accomplices, those of Zwingli, of Oecolampadius and others should be condemned as heretics; you alone are manifestly wise and hold the true way.

To be sure, as you know, I am not of this opinion, that I should say that whatever anyone for sake of lust apart from the scripture should teach must be conformed to, but whatever things I find accepted and observed from the time of the apostles for more than a thousand years, as the baptism of infants, offering for the dead, benedictions made with the cross, anointing and other things of this kind enumerated even by Tertullian, a most ancient authority, on "The Chaplet of a soldier" and by other orthodox fathers, these things I neither propose indiscreetly to abrogate nor do I wish on my part to condemn them.

You are not able to deny, as many men as you are of the new nature, that there are many things, done and spoken by the Lord Jesus, which have never been committed one by one to writing. Because of this, Mark (6:2,34) wrote that he taught many things apart (Mark 4:34; 6:31,) and some by the hour, and that he taught many things otherwise, in parables (Mark 4:2, 33, 34), from a ship (Mark 4:1), and in the temple (John 7:14; 8:2; 10:23; 18:20) more than once, as he was accustomed to do. John often made mention and Luke often wrote how he taught on the Sabbath at Capernaum, throughout Galilee, and in the synagogues, and how he went through towns and country districts. And in like manner John says that he taught in the temple on the fast day. However, it must be acknowledged that what he taught was not written out in as many words, also both in the order and in the fulness of the words, save only that I should in every respect dutifully believe in repentance and things proclaimed of the same nature. The Gospel states besides that, when Jesus was twelve years of age the scribes heard him, and that he questioned them (Luke 2:46, 47); however, what these things were, either what was heard or what was asked, has escaped us; likewise concerning Moses and the prophets

(Luke 24:27) it is not evident what the things were which he spoke from the scripture to the two disciples on their way to Emmaus, just as we do not know the things which were written with his finger on the ground (John 8:6). And for that reason John twice at the close of his Gospel has reminded us that Jesus did very many signs "in the sight of his disciples, which are not written in this book" (John 20:30), and in the following chapter (John 21:25) "But there are also many other things which Jesus did; which, if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written."

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I think that what should be necessary for salvation has been written, for Paul writes (Rom. 15:4), "For what things soever were written, were written for our learning: that through patience and the comfort of the scriptures, we might have hope."

DOCTOR FABER

Since your opinion seems to rest primarily on the authority of Paul, I know that what you have asserted from Paul is true, and yet it does not disagree with me, I indeed affirm that Paul opposes your notion, and in two places at least, for in 2 Thessalonians II (verse 15) he says thus, "Brethren, stand fast; and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word, or by our epistle." In this place you see that Paul warned, or rather commanded, not only that the things which the Thessalonians had received through a written epistle, but also the things which they had learned through instruction by word, must be preserved and defended. Afterwards (as you know) when he wrote to the Corinthians how they conducted themselves at the supper of the Lord in taking his body and blood, he concludes with these words (1 Cor. 11:34), "the rest, when I come, I will set in order for you." Here I wish to know from you, if Paul came to the Corinthians at that time or not, and whether he made some arrangements about this mystery.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I do not know.

DOCTOR FABER

But I know, for when Paul first came to the Corinthians he was open, for he himself gives evidence when he says, "When I first came to you, I came, etc." (1 Cor. 2:1). Yet the second letter shows how with confidence he had wished to come to them before that they might receive a second grace (2 Cor. 1:15), and that he himself had resolved not to return to them with sorrow (2 Corinthians 2:1. Likewise in another place (2 Corinthians 12:14) he says, "Behold now the third time I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burdensome unto you." And again in the last chapter (2 Cor. 13:1) he says, "Behold this is the third time I am coming to you." From these words it is evident that Paul did not neglect the promise made in the first letter.

Now if Paul returned again to the Corinthians, I ask whether he did the things promised (2 Cor. 13:2) or not. If he did not do them he is vain and it is not just for him to say now, "My word is 'it is' and not 'it is not'" (2 Cor. 1:17-20), as he boldly boasts. And it will be necessary not only for him to give up the name of a proclaimer of the truth, but he must bear the reproach even of a vain liar, from which Paul would shrink back the longest time. If, however, when he had performed the things promised, he made arrangements concerning the taking of the body and the blood of Christ and also gave regulations, I wish that you would tell me where we read that these regulations concerning the taking of the body and the blood on the second and on the third trip to the Corinthians were written. So we have pronounced our judgment, what you must confess along with St. Paul, that many things have been instituted by the apostles which, although they have never been committed to writing, yet having been observed by our fathers and passed down to us as if by hand must be preserved as buildings in good repair no less than if they were written down.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

Although things are known which are not written in one place, yet in another place they burst forth and become evident.

DOCTOR FABER

You show me then from the scriptures where Paul gave other regulations concerning the sacrifice of the body of Christ. Of course I do not wish to conceal from you what I know concerning the epistles of Paul, why they were both written and sent, for when Paul understood that anywhere the souls of the faithful wavered and faith tottered, by his epistle he profitably rebuilt the things which were to be remedied and restored, and he established them and made them firm. Therefore, when Paul heard from those who were of Chloe (1 Cor. 1:11) that dissensions, schisms, contentions and revolts had arisen among the Corinthians and that they boasted, one that he was of Paul, another that he was of Cephas, and a third that he was of Apollos (1 Cor. 1:12), likewise that they tolerated fornicators in their communion and church (1 Cor. 5:1), and that there was a dissension among the brethren concerning the resurrection (1 Cor. 15) and even concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ (1 Cor. 11:18-34) concerning the arrangement of which they had without doubt been instructed earlier by Paul, writing to them he says, (1 Cor. 11:23) "I have received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, etc." When Paul saw that this revolt prevailed, he tried to set it right with a letter. However, he did not change the regulations and what he had taught before. In like manner he particularly praised them because they had observed the directions which he had given them. And to the Philippians (4:9) he writes, "You ought to remember the things which you have perceived, and heard and seen." Then in 2 Tim. II (verse 2) he charges Timothy to commit to the faithful by varied modes of speech the things which he had heard from him. And also in like manner Paul sent the dearest Tychicus to the Ephesians (6:21, 22) and to

the Colossians (4:7, 8) asking that they hear him. Shall we confirm what he has said?

And in writing to the Colossians he charged them to read the letter to the Laodiceans (Col. 4:16). Where, I ask, is that letter?

DOCTOR SALZER

Faber Stapulensis[3] boasts that he has found that letter. Who knows whether or not it is the true one?

DOCTOR FABER

I have, of course, seen this one, but for many reasons and because of inferences I doubt that it was written by Paul, because for many years and even centuries no one possessed it. It, with many other epistles of Paul, has not been recovered. Now the one which is to Philemon concerning matters conveyed by Onesimus is counted among the canonical epistles of Paul brief though it is. And how will you, dear doctor, approve almost the first half part of the Athanasian Creed if you require everywhere that writing be open and that the things declared themselves be evident?

In the same manner then through all the Gospel, you will recognize the son as *homoousion;* that is, of the same essence with the father, concerning which matter so great disturbances, so many dissensions, so great disasters and carnages (if we believe only Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, in his "On the Councils") were instigated in the eastern church and in the western church. Arius was the cause of this refuse of evils. Moreover, all the contention occurred about two words, *ousia* and *homoousia.*

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I know that the son can well be proved *homoousion,* for the text (John 10:30) says, "I and the father are one."

DOCTOR FABER

If, as you people are accustomed, I should wish to be more deceptive, and loving my own, I should have regard for a dead record only, and I should not be afraid to re-

main fixed in it, I would deny that this statement could be applied to him, the son in essence proves to be of the same unity with the father. For Jesus himself says (John 17:21), "I ask, father, that they may be one, as you and I are one." Concerning this statement no one is so imprudent that he is able, or wishes, to insist on the unity of essence of the apostles as we firmly believe there is in the father and the son in accordance with universal truth. In this matter this thrice greatest one shows that unity begat unity. On account of that I have set forth these things in the midst, that you may know how much it matters to wrest the scriptures this way or that way, or to interpret them correctly after the custom of our ancestors. Yet I am not unaware that in the same chapter, John XVII (verses 21-23), mention of a repeated unity is made by the Lord.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

You speak well, it is true, but I have not agreed.

DOCTOR FABER

I could wish that you would hear me rightly in this matter. In this way I consider that from the sacred scriptures, for instance, the son is able to be proved to be of the same essence with the father. But it is especially necessary for this to be done through the exercise of reasoning powers grounded in sacred scripture, and from circumstances; just as also concerning the Holy Spirit against the errors of the Greeks, since we profess through universal reasoning that he proceeds from the father and the son.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I agree.

DOCTOR FABER

By similar reasoning there are many things which we hold and believe as true, not because they have been expressed in the sacred writings, but because they are consistent with the truth. What will you conclude concerning Peter, Paul, and Andrew when you do not find in the New

Testament where or in what way they met death? We read (Acts 28:30) that Paul spent two years at Rome, but, except in the writings of the holy fathers, we will not find that he died in that place, hence the error of those who deny that Peter was at Rome.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I have always had suspicion of Urbanus Regius,[4] your pupil, because you trained him from his tender years and as if from his mother's breast, when he wiped his nose with his sleeve[5] (as it is said), and I think that it was he who wrote that Peter was not at Rome.

DOCTOR FABER

And what he shrewdly did you well know, for I had expected that through the excellency of his ability he should produce grapes, and behold he brought forth wild grapes (Isaiah 5:2). The good house is but evil, not to say, heretical, foreign. You and he have come out from us, but you were not of us.

But consider how well he has touched the thing with a needle[6] (as it is said) concerning Peter, for he wrote that Peter died while still a youth, immediately after the ascension of the Lord Jesus, having suffered under Herod. But this is contrary to the clear prophecy of Christ written in the last chapter of John (verse 18) where the Savior says, "Peter, when you were younger you girded yourself and went wherever you desired but when you become old, you will stretch out your hands and another will gird you and lead you where you do not desire." What happened has been related by Hegesippus who lived almost at the time of the apostles and who described the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus and Vespasian. He showed that Christ met Peter[7] on the Appian Way a long time after the ascension. It is to be added that Jerome choicely made entry concerning Peter in the catalog of illustrious men.[8] From this it appears that when men of this kind at enmity with the Roman church vomited forth whatever came to their

cheeks[9] (as they say), having been deprived of their eyes as a punishment, they lost their sight, and having been smitten with blindness, as once the inhabitants of Sodom (Gen. 19:11), they spoke what was not honestly fitting.

And for that reason finally their boldness having burst forth grew strong so that they thought that Mary the perpetual virgin had lived until now, because it is not found written in the Gospel that she died or was received up into heaven. In view of these things they most impudently assert that she has sinned after the manner of mortals, to say nothing of their denial that she was conceived free from original sin and that she was chaste through perpetual virginity, etc. In their more secret assemblies they affirm that what is set forth concerning the assumption or concerning the virginity must be repealed. At length having been entangled in these snares of evils they contend that she was a wife like others and that she did not have any merit beyond others. I find that Tertullian wrote against them thirteen hundred years ago at the time of Caracalla.

But I return to the earlier matters. We are not persuaded by a false assertion that the New Testament ought to be as a *Vocabularius Rerum,* or *Exquo*[10] which they call it. If anything is not written in it, I join in denying that it ought to be and that anything received from another source must be rejected, because if it were so it would certainly go ill with the saints, the martyrs, and the teachers who without doubt have interpreted the Gospels with the help of the Holy Spirit and from the Greek language which abounds in appropriate expressions and words. In this regard, many Greek words are found which separately in our language we express with greatest difficulty by three expressions. Now, therefore, if most expressions should have been written in the Gospel, the books would soon have been altered or lost; accordingly I am of the opinion that in the future you must give up this rule of yours.

There is very certainly this plain rule of Luther that there is therefore no free will, although in as many expressions in the Gospel as free will is omitted, though there is

human will, as such is to be done or not to be done, just as often it is repeated and is contained in the scripture. And at the same time with impudent boldness this same apostate monk (for he is ashamed to declare himself a priest and a teacher, he who would turn the priesthood of Christ and the true teaching into dross and whoredom) madly and most insolently exalted (as he is accustomed) has been thrown into the most detestable error, which promoting such monstrosities with I know not how fatal calamity neither the religion of the Jews, nor the practices of the heathen, nor the cruelty of the Tartars and of the Turks, nor even any nation under heaven outside of the region of the Saxons has been able to endure and today is able. For this well fattened calf in the unnatural clothing of a hooded calf, appointed (as you know) for our lofty time, with a stubborn spirit and an innate obstinacy has affirmed that all things are done by a certain absolute necessity. His opinion has been disapproved by the schools of all the philosophers and it does not rest upon any foundation of Gospel doctrine. Now because these words *free will*, are not found in the Gospel, it is not inevitable that the fact or the truth of the fact perish, in so much as both *free* and *will*, as well in words as in the fact itself, are expressed in the sacred page.

For my part in theology for a long time I have observed another rule, inasmuch as I do not approve of contentions about words and am not concerned even if some name does not appear to be expressed in the Gospel in connection with a word. I seek only that the matter be verified and agree with the corresponding evidence, and that it be void of doubt. For if I cannot find the holy virgin, the mother of God (*dei genitricem*), honored in the sacred writings as the mother of God (*theotocon*), on that account should I at once become a Nestorian or an Anabaptist? And should I say that Mary is not the mother of the Lord? Now I am not able to do this.

Now therefore from the book of Revelation alone I will show you the first thus far of two instances. You know that John said that he hated the deeds of the Nicolaitans (Rev.

2:6). What (I ask you) was the sect of the Nicolaitans? What was their heresy? What were their evil deeds? Or was it not because they wished that they may have their wives in common as the disciples of Socrates and that freely they may embrace them openly after the custom of the Cynics? We cite these instances from no other source than the sacred writings in accordance with which the faithful lived also in the time of the apostles.

Because the church afterwards from the time of the apostles has not observed the Sabbath of the Jews, but in place of the Sabbath Sunday, which it instituted as the Lord's day in memory of Christ's resurrection from the dead, and it has observed it, I think that you are almost displeased. For whence will you prove these and other instances from the Gospel? It is possible only from the vision of John (Rev. 1:10) which he saw on the Lord's Day which we call Sunday from the error of the heathen.

Since in this way *homoousion,* free will, the mother of God, the Lord's day and many matters similar to these you must prove as much by inference as by the fact itself, and you do not think that they should be rejected, although you do not find them expressed by name anywhere in the received and canonical writings, what else therefore remains except that you approve my assertion and agree with my opinion? We are most truly able and obligated to consider that this rule of yours does not remain the most common and widespread, but that many and almost countless matters, both judical and ceremonical, exist even outside of the Bible.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

Sunday is in the ten commandments, even in the moral laws, and it cannot be abolished as other ceremonial and judical matters.

DOCTOR FABER

Mention is made, dear doctor, in the decalogue concerning the Sabbath which we do not observe. And Luther's "black earth,"[11] this Melanchthon, maintains strongly that because the Sabbath among the ten commandments has not

been reshaped by Christ, for this reason it must be kept rather than abolished, declaring to us in common that one must rest and keep holiday with the Jews, because on it we ourselves should do no work. Although we should keep Saturday for the Sabbath, yet it is not the Lord's day. In this respect, as I see it, you regard lightly the rule of Luther and Melanchthon who say that the ten commandments of the decalogue, which have not been restored in the Gospel, have been abolished and repealed. Now concerning the nine it is written again in the Gospel; concerning the Sabbath omission is made. The nine, therefore, are no longer mere precepts of the decalogue for Christians. Now here listen to me briefly. Zwingli, who drove you to a public retraction in every assemblage of men, from the ten commandments has made eleven. You remember that the school of by far the most impudent monks and nuns at Wittenberg in a diminishing number recognizes nine. You see that the Psalms harmonize with the cithara. Recognize with yourself that the living creatures and wheels of Ezekiel (1:14-21) ran together; they went together; they were lifted up together; and, very fitly, the spirit of life was in the wheels.

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

I have never approved Luther because he has been the author of many disasters in Germany, or rather in the whole world. Yet I have always observed him. And especially since he wrote concerning Christian liberty, concerning free will, good works and absolute necessity concerning which you made mention earlier, which the ancients generally have called fate, I have been averse to his opinion. I have not only not neglected the fact that the Lord's day and other holidays must be commended according to the word of God and that sacred pursuits must be followed, but truly I have even both piously and diligently declared that they must always be cherished. This, however, has displeased me, that men everywhere, especially having become quickly freed and unrestrained, are seized by a passion for drink, a game of chance, intemperance and excess.

DOCTOR FABER

I am not if this conviction that, having become disheartened, I should think that those, whether few or many, who have crept in among the members of the church (whom I myself both see and deplore to be considerable) should not be corrected. For Isaiah dins in my ears that this must be feared, "Woe to you who call good evil and evil good, who put darkness for light and light for darkness, who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter" (Isa. 5:20). I will not carry oil into Egypt, and I say, "As long as I shall live, if the Lord be my helper, the oil of the sinner will not fatten my head" (Psm. 140:5). You have, therefore, dear doctor, many passages of scripture which teach that error is abominable and nefarious and that nothing is to be accounted valid unless it is found clearly expressed in the Bible.

Now certainly if you prohibit nothing except what stands clearly prohibited in the Gospel, how (to set forth only one out of an infinite number) will you hinder a brother from marriage with his sister?

DOCTOR BALTHASAR

It is certainly prohibited in Leviticus, chapter XVIII (verses 9, 11).

DOCTOR FABER

If it is proposed that Leviticus be restored again, we would doubtless have need of many red cows, calves, rams, sheep, turtle doves, sparrows and similar living things innumerable, which not even Pannonia, which they call Hungary, could supply though it very greatly abounds in herds with all its bulls, oxen, cows, rams and other animals. These are legal precepts and judical and ceremonial laws, just as it is evident from the text itself. They, therefore, since the Gospel (as you know) omits them, have ceased, for no longer do we destroy "a tooth for a tooth," "an eye for an eye" (Matt. 5:38; Ex. 21:24; Lev. 24:20; Deut. 19:21), but with patience we respond to the insult "raca" (Matt. 5:22) and to a blow received on the left cheek by presenting the right

(Matt. 5:39), or certainly we are commanded to respond.

Since, therefore, in the Gospel there have been few instances where marriage has been prohibited because of blood relationship or relationship by marriage, as the wife of Herod's brother was restrained by John (Matt. 14:3, 4; Mark 6:17, 18; Luke 3:18) and Paul reproved the one who committed fornication with his step-mother (I Cor. 5:1), our law restrains even those who have been separated by divorce, that neither one while the other lives can be united by another marriage (I Cor. 7:11, 39). Yet I know that this appears contrary to Luther, who on account of his own fickleness freed most husbands from a lewd woman. Since in this way the old law has been abrogated, by your common consent it is necessary to assume the prohibitive degrees not from that, but from another source.

Of course the church, which is ruled by the Holy Spirit, is also saved by him. For this reason, if you will hear me, you will include yourself in the ark of Noah (Gen. 7), for when the storms of the raging waters flow near, though beaten by the waves you will not sink. I indeed proclaim the ark to be the church, out of which no one shall be saved. But more concerning the church later; now, sufficiently and beyond, I think that it has been shown that there are not a few truths outside of the Bible, from which a Christian man by an indiscreet venture ought not to depart. Accordingly you too should not be vexed to take your stand on this side, for in this way you will not turn aside, either to the right or to the left, but you will walk the royal road (Deut. 5:33).

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*This is a third portion of Dr. Crismon's translation of the interview between John Faber and Balthasar Hubmaier, Vienna, December 1527 to January 1528.

1. These words were spoken by Lord Mark, of Leopoldsdorf, treasurer of the Austrian Treasury, a companion of Faber.

2. Hans Hut, Anabaptist preacher, died at Augsburg, September, 1527.

3. Jacobus Stapulensis Faber, or Le Fevere d' Etaples, 1455-1536, French Scholar, born at Etaples in Picardy.

4. Urban Konig, 1490-1541; see M'Clintock and Strong, **Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature**, V. 8, p. 1019; see also **Bibliotheca Sacra**, 1862 (Vol. 19), p. 451-456, for Dr.

Barnas Sears' review of "Urbanus Regius Leben und ausgewahlte Schriften, von Dr. Gerhard Alhorn, Elberfeld, 1861."

5. To do things in a great way; French, **Ne pas se moucher sur se manche.**

6. To hit the nail on the head, Modern English.

7. Related first by Ambrose in "Sermon Against Auxentius;" **see Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd. Ser.,** V. 10, p. 432.

8. "Book of Illustrious Men;" see **Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd. Ser.,** V. 3, p. 361.

9. To speak whatever comes uppermost.

10. Dr. Douglas C. McMurtrie wrote me in a letter dated January 10, 1944: "This seems to have been the common designation of a source book, or book of extracts or quotations. The earliest instance of it that I know in a **printed** book is the **Vacabularius Ex Quo** printed by the Bechtermunze brothers at Eltville, Germany, in 1467. This book has an interesting place in the history of the invention of printing, being an excerpt from the **Catholicon,** a Latin dictionary printed at Mainz in 1460 on an unidentified press with a cryptic colophon which is supposed by some authorities to identify the printer as Gutenberg himself."

11. He translated his German name **Schwartzerd** into the Greek **Melanchthon** (**melas,** black; **chthon,** earth); see M'Clintock and Strong, op., cit., V. 6, p. 53.

Book Reviews

Jesus Then and Now. By Willard L. Sperry, Dean of the Harvard Divinity School. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. Pages 224. $2.50.

The first four chapters of this book were the John C. Shaffer Lectures at Northwestern University, delivered in the spring of 1948. Two final chapters were added "By way of second thought."

In this stimulating little volume Dean Sperry has taken up what he interprets as the challenge of "neo-orthodoxy" to the historical Jesus and the importance of the Synoptic Gospels. "To put it bluntly," the spokesmen of the "neo-orthodox" school "are rather cavalier in their indifference to the Jesus of history," says Dean Sperry. "I have tried to suggest," he continues in his Foreword, "that an orthodoxy which is studiously indifferent to the Synoptic Gospels cannot commend itself unreservedly to those whose reflective Christian life began with the critical study of the Gospels."

It is in his final chapter, "Remember Jesus Christ," that the author presses home his case against "neo-orthodoxy." The burden of his complaint is "the studied neglect of Jesus in the writings of the neo-orthodox theologians of our time." (Page 195). He continues: "I do not question for a moment the piety of all these persons and synods and conferences. But I venture to suggest that, in a reflective attempt to interpret the Christian religion to our world, the disproportion between space given to what Jesus himself is reported to have said and that given to what this encompassing cloud of witnesses have said is rather striking. The truth of the matter would seem to be that thinkers of this type feel no sense of religious debt or theological obligation to the recorded words of Jesus."

There may be room for difference of opinion as to whether Dean Sperry has done justice to the "neo-orthodox" theologians, but no one will quarrel with his insistence upon the importance of the words of Jesus emphasized in this

statement: "Nevertheless, for those who profess and call themselves Christians, the well-attested words of Jesus of Nazareth have a precious and authoratative significance which they do not accord to any other words. Those words are the actual gems set in the crown jewels of our faith. The theological setting may well give them their fullest beauty, but without them the settings alone would be empty and all but meaningless." (Page 204).

There are many good things in this book. Dr. Sperry is provocative and stimulating. I do not agree with his views concerning Albert Schweitzer and Mahatma Gandhi. Schweitzer is a great man, but it is hardly true that "There have been few men in our time, perhaps none, who have done more to revitalize the Gospels and to perpetuate the spirit of Christ than Albert Schweitzer" (page 74 f). My reply would be that Schweitzer approaches the gnosticism that Dr. Sperry deplores (page 56f), in his interpretation of Jesus, and does violence to the words of Jesus that Dr. Sperry rightly exalts, in his interpretation of the Kingdom of God, specificially in his theory of "thoroughgoing eschatology." And how can Dean Sperry square this lavish praise of Schweitzer with the latter's view of the Sermon on the Mount as an "interim ethic," in the light of Dr. Sperry's insistence upon the relevancy of the words of Jesus? "Consistency, thou art a jewel!" And this concerning Gandhi I do not believe for one moment: "Gandhi was a devout Hindu, yet his life remains one of the most conspicuous examples in our time of Christian tempers and Christian conduct. Jesus would have found in him a fellow-worker, and the central admonitions of the Sermon on the Mount have seldom received in our Christian world as consistent witness as they found in the simple, selfless life and sacrificial death of that great Indian saint and patriot." (Page 78). It appears that if the "neo-orthodox" theologians have their saints, Dean Sperry has found his saints too, one of them a Hindu mystic who never acknowledged Christ as his Master.

Dean Sperry disparages the "neo-orthodox" view "that Christ already rules the world" (page 167), but I must say

that I prefer this view to Schweitzer's notion that Jesus was a pathetic visionary who was in error in his interpretation of the Kingdom of God.

But there are many good things in this little volume, despite inconsistencies and errors such as those indicated.

Edward A. McDowell

Christianity and the Children of Israel. By A. Roy Eckardt. King's Crown Press, New York, 1948. 223 pages. $3.00.

This timely study of Anti-Semitism is a curious mixture of excellencies and faults. The historical survey of the attitudes of various Christian groups toward the Jews is fairly complete and most helpful in an understanding of the problem. The critical analysis of the causes of Anti-Semitism is rather penetrating, laying bare the social, economic, and psychological factors, with a unique emphasis upon the theological aspect. But in what is supposed to be the constructive section of the book, with suggestions toward a solution of the problem of Jewish-Christian relations, the author is definitely riding a hobby. He is completely enamoured of "Neo-orthodoxy," or what he prefers to call "the Neo-Reformation Theology" of Barth, Brunner, the Niebuhrs, and Tillich. From the writings of these men he quotes excessively, especially those of his former teachers, H. Richard Niebuhr and Paul Tillich. The most distinctive ideas of the book are based upon a certain unpublished manuscript of Tillich.

In seeking "a theology for the Jewish question," Eckardt criticizes and dismisses successively the positions of the Roman Catholic Church, Conservative Protestantism, Neo-Reformation Absolutism, the Continental Church, the Christian Mission to Jews, Liberal Christianity, and Neo-Reformation Relativism. Each type is either too "absolutistic" or too "relativistic." In the author's view, which is supposedly the view also of Tillich and Richard Niebuhr, the Jewish people have not been rejected by God as a chosen people, but still have a distinct mission to perform; namely to bear witness against idolatry and paganism. This the Synagogue is in

many ways better able to do than is the Church. As a matter of fact, Judaism may be considered "in a unique sense part of the 'latent' Christian Church" (page 148). Under this interpretation, Christian missions to Jews become one of the worst forms of proselytism. Christianity and Judaism stand in a dialectial relationship to one another. Each is necessary to the other in the economy of God: "It is the vocation of Israel to proclaim and maintain the divine Law; it is the vocation of the church to preach the Christian Gospel of divine grace" (page 160).

The key to this daring position is found in the Christology of Neo-Reformation theology. No importance is placed upon the historical Jesus; everything centers upon the theological concept of the Christ, which is a symbol with infinite meaning. To limit this symbol to the finite, historical Jesus is idolatrous. Much of the Christian Church is constantly engaged in "Jesuolatry," the idolatrous worship of the historical Jesus. Rather than seeking to bring Jews into this error, we should strive to help them recognize "the Hidden Christ," whom they may serve as well in the Synagogue as in the Church! (Cf. pp. 176f).

Although the author is not a seasoned theologian, but a young Methodist minister who recently finished studies at Yale and Columbia, this book may well be scrutinized, not only for the light it throws upon the Jewish question, but also for what it reveals concerning the implications of current Neo-orthodoxy. That which the professors have quietly stated in the classroom, their eager disciple has proclaimed from the housetop. It is enough.

H. C. Goerner

Jesus, Son of Man. By George S. Duncan. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. 290 pages. $3.50.

Professor George S. Duncan of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, has long been known for his investigations in the study of the New Testament. In 1930 he published *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry* in which he attempted to prove that the place from which Paul wrote the im-

prisonment epistles was Ephesus. In 1934 his volume in the Moffatt New Testament Commentary appeared, and this time Professor Duncan argued that Galatians was written in A.D. 48. Neither his Ephesian theory nor his early date for Galatians has gained general acceptance, and it is doubtful whether some of his views in *Jesus, Son of Man,* first published in England in 1937, will do any better.

The first point at which Duncan's book seems weak is the assertion that Jesus did not believe himself to be the Messiah. The Baptism-experience he declares "is for Jesus not a revelation of Messiahship but a revelation of Sonship" (p. 115). He is apparently indifferent to the arguments of his fellow-Scotsman, William Manson, who gives good evidence for the consciousness of Sonship being the very basis for the consciousness of Messiahship so that "it is more reasonable to think of him as coming to the Messianic conception of his destiny from pre-existing experience of filial communion with God than vice versa" (*Jesus the Messiah,* p. 154). And this false distinction between Sonship and Messiahship colors much of the book. The root of the trouble appears to be that Duncan can think of the Messiah only in the crude terms of Judaism, and passes by the almost certain fact that Jesus transformed the messianic idea by the identification of the Son of Man with the Suffering Servant. This too has been convincingly put by William Manson and T. W. Manson and many other New Testament scholars. The attempt to rule the messianic idea out of the term Son of Man and "to say that Jesus sets aside the question of Messiahship and concentrates attention solely on the spiritual authority of the Son of Man" (p. 125) is not likely to succeed.

The emphasis on the spiritual authority of the Son of Man leads to a second characteristic of this book. The spiritual and the eschatological are at times opposed to each other, and this is apparently due to Duncan's opposition to the extreme eschatological views of Schweitzer and his followers. This, however, is not carried to an extreme, because the chief contention is "that the expectation that the Son of Man *will come* is just another aspect of the two-fold conviction that

the Son of Man *has come*, and that the authority which he wielded during his lifetime is an authority which belongs to him eternally" (p. 186). This means that both the coming of the Son of Man on earth and the coming of the Son of Man with the clouds in judgment are eschatological. No doubt Duncan with C. H. Dodd is going in the right direction when he emphasizes the present aspect of the eschatological to correct the one-sided futuristic interpretation, but there is more that needs to be said about the relation between the present and the future than either Duncan or Dodd allows.

It should be said, on the other hand, that *Jesus, Son of Man* is an outstanding book on the person and teaching of Jesus and that it is worthy of serious study along with the books by the Mansons, C. H. Dodd, and C. J. Cadoux. It has not, however, carried convincing evidence for the conclusion.

Dale Moody

Evangelism According to Christ. By Gaines S. Dobbins. Harper and Brothers, New York. 224 pages. $2.50.

Dr. Gaines S. Dobbins' many books and great ministry both from the standpoint of quality and quantity have made his name a household name among the Baptists of the world. He is recognized as being second to none among the men who are teaching in his particular field.

In his department, as a professor at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, evangelism is taught. It is with joy that we hail from him this new book on evangelism based upon the fourth gospel. This is another way of saying that his interpretation of evangelism both as to method and message is based upon the actual ministry of Jesus Christ, who was unquestionably the sanest and most effective evangelist of all time.

He discusses the first nine chapters of the book under the heading, "Christ Can Save the Sinner." Chapters 10-21 he discusses under the general caption, "Christ Can Keep the Saved." This two-fold emphasis in the book is exceedingly important. Too many of us have felt that the

gospel is merely good news to a man lost in sin. It is a heavenly proclamation based upon the atoning grace of Christ Jesus that sinners can be saved, that they can be delivered from the realm of darkness and brought over into the kingdom of God. Certainly this is the first work of any evangelist. It is so distinctly their first work that the word evangelist, which occurs only three times in the New Testament (twice in the singular number and once in the plural number), refers specifically to those who went far and wide to announce the glad tidings to people who had never heard it. The New Testament evangelists were very similar to our foreign missionaries, particularly those who are carrying the gospel to countries where Christ has never been preached. We must continue to stress the importance of evangelizing with a view of bringing lost men and women to a definite experience of grace whereby they are given entrance into the Kingdom of God. In church evangelism, in personal evangelism, in pastoral evangelism, and in mass evangelism this emphasis must never be forgotten. Regeneration of the individual must be the first fruit of evangelism, but on the other hand the gospel is also good news for the saved. God has provided not only for the regeneration of individuals, but he has provided additional works of grace for these saved individuals as they, by the right use of divine aids, grow in grace, move forward and upward toward the perfect man in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Sanctification is just as definitely a part of the "good news" as regeneration. Even the glorious promises for the future, which are based upon the efficacious work of reconciliation on the part of God who was in Christ during his earthly ministry and experience, are parts of the good news. Therefore it is quite fitting that Dr. Dobbins should emphasize the work of evangelism in connection with the continued ministry of the Holy Sipirit to men and women who have been saved by grace.

This book is the outgrowth of lectures which Dr. Dobbins has been giving to his classes in evangelsim. He has presented in this book his conclusions as to the imperative-

ness of evangelism and as to the sanest methods of doing the work of evangelism. It is not only a suitable textbook for the classroom, but it is also a most excellent book for pastors and personal workers who have a passion to bring people to a saving knowledge of Christ Jesus and to inspire them and teach them to live in this world worthy of their great Saviour in all of their relationships with their fellowmen in human society. Ellis A. Fuller

Life and Teachings of Jesus. By T. Franklin Miller. The Warner Press, Anderson, Indiana, 1949. 124 pages. Cloth $1.50, Paper 75c.

This little book is designed for Sunday school teachers who have had little opportunity for a connected study of the life and teachings of Jesus. In five brief chapters the author in very brief and simple fashion discusses the world into which Jesus came, gives a chronological account of his life, points out the purpose of each of the gospels, and presents a survey of Jesus' principal teachings. A sixth chapter indicates methods to be used by the teachers of various age groups.

The author does not deal with the problems which are presented in a critical study of Jesus. However, he does not ignore them, rather expressing the hope that his work will lead the teacher to a more critical and detailed investigation.

The book is by no means comparable to James Stewart's "Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ," which has a fairly similar uncritical purpose, but it is a simple and well planned presentation which will be useful to those for whom it was written. H. E. Turlington

The Purpose of the Gospels. By Ernest F. Scott. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. Pages 171. $2.50.

Here is another stimulating and very readable book from the prolific pen of the dean of writers on the New Testament in America. It would be difficult for E. F. Scott to write an uninteresting book; few men can equal him in the capacity to discover and present in a lucid way challenging ideas about the New Testament.

The central idea of this book is that the Gospels are witnesses to the historicity of Christianity. This idea is not new, but the time had arrived for a new emphasis upon it. Dr. Scott, in his own inimitable way, has provided this. A listing of the chapter headings will suggest the approach and something of the method that has been followed. They are: I. The Period of the Gospels; II. The Message and the Tradition; III. The Character of the Gospels; IV. The Central Motive of the Gospels; V. The Facts and Their Significance; VI. The Gospels in the Church; VII Christianity as an Historical Religion.

Dr. Scott believes in the Gospels as historical documents. I like his emphasis upon the part played by Paul in the preservation of the early tradition and records. "It is not too much to say that if no Gospel had survived," says Dr. Scott, "and we knew nothing of the history but what may be gathered from Paul's Epistles, we should still be able to re-construct it, from this source alone, in all its essential elements" (page 36). Paul's sources and others were available to the authors of the Gospels.

Dr. Scott takes sharp issue with those scholars who believe that the Gospels are a composite of stories and teachings largely created by the Christian community. "It may be confidently said that this theory," he says, "on the face of it, is absurd" (page 82). "But the idea that the church made the Gospels, in the sense that they project its present interests into a more or less fictitiuos account of Jesus, is a mere inversion of the truth. It was the Gospels which made the church. Their aim was to carry it back to what Jesus himself had taught, by word and act, so that it might be constituted on this model and no other."

I am not in agreement with Dr. Scott's idea that the Gospels made the church, but I can understand his viewpoint, and I am quite in accord with his insistence that the church did not make the Gospels, in the sense in which the school of Form Criticism holds that the church created the Gospels. The thought in his book that I liked best, however, was that the Gospels reflect the battle of the church against the

rising tide of docetic Gnosticism, not by an attack on Gnosticism, but by going back to the actual life of Jesus to bring Jesus into the arena of life as a real, historic person. "There had been a disposition from the first to lay the whole emphasis upon the message, and a point had been reached when the history was in danger of being suppressed altogether. Jesus himself had been resolved into a ghostly figure, a mere symbol of the truth he had conveyed. The evangelists plainly see that when it is so understood Christianity will lose its meaning. They take their stand on the actual life of Jesus." (Page 49).

Dr. Scott thinks that the evangelists wrote "in the later time when the apocalpytic interest had weakened," but transported themselves "into the time of which they write," although "It is quite evident that they were themselves in full sympathy with the apocalyptic beliefs." (Page 70). How can we know that they were in full sympathy with the apocalyptic beliefs when their purpose was not to present their own picture of Jesus but to act as reporters relating the story as they found it? There is inconsistency here. Furthermore, it is yet to be proved that Jesus and the early Christians were apocalyptists.

Dr. Scott's last chapter on "Christianity as an Historical Religion" is superb. Edward A. McDowell

You Can Read the Bible. By Charles D. Spotts. The Christian Education Press, Philadelphia, 1949. 125 pages. $1.50.

One takes up a book with such a title with real interest and hopeful expectation. The table of contents encourages. "The Bible Is for You" is a fine approach and, following a preface outlining personal experience, promises much.

We are then advised to "Read by Authors," six of whom the author selects to introduce to the prospective reader. Next we are introduced to "The Word of God as History." In this the author follows a division of the history from "The Hebrew Patriarchs" in six divisions culminating in "A Jewish Biography of Jesus." Six "Great Religious Beliefs of the Bible" are next proposed for study; and we come to

the final section which essays to guide in the use of the Bible as "A Source of Comfort and Help."

One soon finds that worthy undertaking carried forward with much ability and knowledge is not quite what was expected as an inspiration and guide for those who need to be stimulated to Bible study. There is far too much of the apologetic element; the author adopts as unquestioned fact certain critical and theological ideas which besides being questionable, seem to this reviewer to be out of place in a volume with the purpose of this one. The view of Inspiration is vague and superficial. The Holy Spirit is apparently regarded as impersonal, spelled with lower case initials. The Bible is only "one of these (many) sources" of "help" which one will need "in the process of fashioning your creed."

At many places the author's knowledge of the scriptures seems limited and inaccurate. How can he say that "the great writing prophets rarely played any part in politics?" Which of them did not play prominent part? That the phrase "Kingdom of God" is characteristic of Matthew is only one radical defect in his understanding of this Gospel. How does the author deduce from Matthew, the one Synoptic he chooses, that "After his death and resurrection, the disciples became convinced that Jesus was the Messiah, the Suffering Servant, and therefore represented the climax of history?" The "author" of Matthew in Chapter 20 "seeks to . . . protect the sacred memories of Saint James and Saint John by laying on their mother their ambitious request."

The Christian concept of God is regarded as "the climax of the long evolutionary process . . . of man's search for the nature of God," with no reference to the element of God's self-revelation.

The Gospel of John is not historical and not conceivably by the Apostle, although in its symbolic method deeply truthful. Dr. Spotts knows at "precisely" what "critical moment in Jewish history" "a devout and patriotic Jew," "impelled strongly to write words of encouragement," "selected Daniel as the hero of the book he wanted to write."

Add to all this, resort to psychiatry and other critical devices for playing down the miracles of Jesus. One wonders just how all this critical dogmatism is supposed to induce people really ignorant of the Bible to be drawn to its reading. It is hardly the kind of book for this purpose. Why not use such a volume as Dr. Julian Price Love's "How to Read the Bible?" W. O. Carver

Pilgrim Edition of the Holy Bible. E. Schuyler English, Editor. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948. $4.50.

This annotated edition was prepared over a period of ten years by more than thirty contributing editors. The text employed is the King James Version and the notes were prepared especially for the benefit of young Christians. In addition to the notes, other helps include articles on the Old and New Testaments and the Intertestamental period, brief introductions to the canonical books, an index, a group of maps, and two introductory articles entitled "About the Bible and Its Author," and "How We Got Our English Bible."

In plan, format, and doctrinal emphasis this edition is patterned after the Scofield Reference Bible, and the editors admittedly hold to the "dispensational viewpoint" in the interpretation of Scripture. This system of interpretation is so interwoven into the notes and introductory material that the reader is constantly exposed to it.

Furthermore, the historical data are subject to the most serious difficulties. For example, Ussher's chronology is used; accordingly, the editors agree with a date of about 4000 B.C. for the creation of man—a position that is generally considered untenable in view of present archaeological and anthropological studies. Also, the date of the Exodus is placed at 1491 B.C., which is considerably too early to agree with archaeological and biblical evidences as a whole. Amraphel of Gen. 14 is dogmatically equated with Hammurabi, and Babel in Gen. 11 is stated to mean "confusion" —positions which are untenable in view of archaeological and linguistic studies. Babel actually is derived from the

Babylonian *Bab-ilu,* "Gate of God," rather than from Hebrew *bll* meaning "to confound."

The attitude of the editors toward the nature of Scripture and of prophecy may be seen in that the book of Daniel is regarded as describing the future course of world rule from Daniel's time to the Millennium, all of Revelation after chapter 3 is regarded as future, and the prophecy against Gog and Magog in Ezekiel chapters 38 and 39 is considered as pertaining to a "coming federation of nations under the leadership of Russia."

This work employs a faulty scheme of interpretation, an inadequate view of the nature of Scripture and of prophecy, and involves the most serious difficulties in historical data. The thoughtful young person of today will probably find it more confusing than enlightening.

Wm. H. Morton

Notes on the New Testament. By Albert Barnes. Matthew and Mark. Reprint. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1949. $3.00.

A very interesting development in publishing is the republication of a number of old Biblical and theological works. Several American publishing houses, including the Baker Book House of Grand Rapids, are engaged in this useful enterprise. They are to be commended for making some of the best of the old works available.

The first volumes of *Notes on the New Testament* by Albert Barnes were published in 1832. Other volumes were published at intervals between that year and 1851 when the final volume appeared. The notes were later revised. The publishers say concerning this re-print: "This is a sample of what you may expect in this eleven-volume commentary. Each volume will be issued in the same attractive re-inforced binding. The size and type will be uniform throughout. Most important of all, the high standard of Scriptural exposition found in this first volume is consistently maintained." Edward A. McDowell

The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1949. 850 pages. $5.00.

The Wm. B. Eerdmans Company continues to render marked service by republishing some of the best works of scholars of preceding centuries. One of the greatest contributions ever made to the study of the life and work of the Apostle Paul was that made jointly by Conybeare and Howson in the nineteenth century. This book is a complete and unabridged reprint of that noted work, and is especially welcome since the older copies are rather difficult to secure. Pastors and teachers who do not already possess this book will surely desire it for their libraries, for more recent studies of Paul still confirm the high quality of research evident in its pages. Considering the length of the book (850 pages besides an Introduction and a series of maps), five dollars is not too high a price. H. E. Turlington

Calvin's Commentaries. Two Volumes, I and II Corinthians. By John Calvin; translated by Rev. John Pringle. Reprint. Grand Rapids; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. $3.50 each volume.

In his Introduction to these volumes William Douglas Chamberlin of the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary points out that it was slightly more than four hundred years ago that John Calvin published his commentary on First Corinthians. Dr. Chamberlain says: "It is highly desirable that Calvin's commentaries be reprinted for, unfortunately, some of his followers have done him the disservice of making his theology less human than he made it. He had an amazing grasp of Scripture and an ability to make its meaning clear."

These volumes are a continuation of the project of Eerdmans to re-publish all of the Calvin Commentaries. Several of the volumes have already come from the press. All Bible and theological students are in the debt of Eerdmans for making Calvin's works available.

Edward A. McDowell

Resurgence of the Gospel. By T. A. Kantoney. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1948. 232 pages. $3.00.

"Resurgence of the gospel" means to Professor Kantoney the current trends in theology in Calvinism and Lutheranism. While acknowledging that the Swiss theologian Karl Barth "has done more than any other individual to strengthen the position of positive Christian theology in our generation," (p. 15) the author, of Finnish Lutheran background and now at Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio, gives special emphasis to the three principles of evangelical faith which found expression in Luther and now have been rediscovered by the most vital theologians of Lutheranism. The first principle of evangelical faith is the justifying grace which establishes the right relation between God and man. The theme is revelant to our day because it shows that God and man can come together on a basis in which God is God and man is man, that conscience is the ground on which God and man meet, that this personal relation is the source of regenerative power, and that this relation results in the right relation to men. The second principle is the living Word of God which is the instrument of God's grace. Kantoney thinks this is of special significance for those who are dissatisfied with both the static intellectualism of fundamentalism and the thin theology of modernism. "Protestant theology" he declares, "has found itself in the dilemma of either starving on the empty husks of static intellectualism which its traditional orthodoxy inherited from a decadent scholasticism or else selling its birthright for the pottage of more up-to-date secular science and philosophy. Fundamentalism has followed the former course, modernism the latter" (p. 127). The third principle is the universal spiritual priesthood of believers. The chapter on this great Lutheran doctrine is the best in the book. Insisting that this teaching embraces the whole conception of the people of God (*qahal Jahve*), the importance of Christian service in churches, home, state, and the economic order is emphasized in a manner worthy of Calvinism! Each principle is discussed both biblically and historically and applied to the present task of Christian proclamation.

The last chapter is devoted altogether to the "theology of the gospel in action." Faith and repentance, the Church and the Sacraments are given special consideration. His discussion of repentance in terms of contrition is not altogether satisfactory. The positive note of the New Testament is not sufficiently stated. The attempt to justify infant baptism on the basis of "prevenient grace" indicates how far a good theologian can stretch his system to fit a practice (p. 197).

For a fresh and stimulating discussion of the biblical basis, historical expression, and contemporary relevance of justification by faith, the living Word of God, and the universal spiritual priesthood of believers the busy pastor will find this a useful book. It follows in the good tradition of the Muhlenberg Press. Dale Moody

Christian Apologetics. By Alan Richardson. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. 256 pages. $3.00.

An Introduction to Christian Apologetics. By Edward John Carnell. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1948. 379 pages. $3.50.

At last the science of defence of the Christian faith is returning from the seclusion of shame where the last generation left it. Courses in philosophy of religion had come on the scene to do away with the offense of a faith that took revelation seriously. Contemporary encounter with paganism and secularism has made imperative the elaboration of a Christian view of God and the world that is adequate and answers the objections of the non-Christian world.

Alan Richardson's *Christian Apologetics* attempts to reestablish theology as an empirical science by a "critique of the theological reason" (p. 10). His critique of reason, however, is no plunge into the current forms of irrationalism made prominent by the disillusionment of our times, for Richardson believes that "no approach on the part of Christian apologists to the modern mind is likely to be effective which does not demonstrate the ability of our theological knowledge successfully to undergo that test and so to justify

itself at the bar of rational scientific enquiry" (p. 7). But reason is no final authority, for "reason itself must be 'justified by faith,' by believing something that is not in fact self-evident or demonstrable to all men in virtue of the fact that they are rational beings" (p. 36). In other words, *credo ut intelligam* is a fundamental Christian insight.

Against this background of Augustinianism the distinction is drawn between general and special revelation made famous by Augustine. His discussion here reminds one of the late William Temple, and it has been remarked that Canon Richardson is the most likely intellectual successor to the great Archbishop of Canterbury. The climax of his argument is that faith is a condition of rationality, but this is not reached until the view is made relevant by a discussion of miracle, prophecy, and the inspiration and authority of the Bible. To him "it is God who has also created the very possibility of our acceptance, our capacity of response in faith, the freedom to use our reason and will rationally when the gift of faith is offered to us" (p. 239). The book is solid Christian thinking.

The second book is mentioned in the same review simply because it is another book on Christian apologetics. From the point of view of rationalistic fundamentalism Carnell produces a strange mixture of truth and error. The first impression one receives is that of the eclectic nature of the work. Beginning with an idea of "soul-sorrow," which appears to be an imitation of Reinhold Niebuhr's existentialism (cf. p. 27 with the *Nature and Destiny of Man,* Vol. 2, p. 1) so repudiated by the author, he shifts to the coherence theory of Brightman, so foreign to the theological position of the author, and with this rationalism illustrates his fundamentalism with historical facts drawn mostly from the writings of the humanists Burtt and Randall. "Hodge-podge" perhaps is a better description than eclecticism. The second impression is made by the errors in the book. One reads that the enlightment came from Kantianism and that Locke and Newton came after Kant (p. 201). Barth and Brunner would be greatly surprised to find themselves

classified with "the feeling theology of the classic mystics" (p. 77). The mind of God is not to be found in the cross of Christ (I Cor. 2:16; Phil. 2:5-11), the stumblingblock to reason, but in the coherence theory of E. S. Brightman (pp. 56, 60, 62). The author can explain any difficulty with the doctrine of election. God allowed the original autographs of the Bible to be lost because "he elected to have them lost" to save men from worshipping them, and he did not make the copyists inerrant because "he elected so to do" (pp. 198f). "Meditation upon the problem of transcriptional errors, therefore, ought to excite us to repentance . . ." (p. 199). And many other shallow arguments and statements fill the book. The book won First Prize in the Eerdmans Evangelical Book Award Competition. Dale Moody

Meaning in History. By Karl Loewith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. 257 pages. $4.00.

A new book by an able author on a timely and crucially important subject! Following the retrogressive method, the author works back from Burckhardt to Voltaire through modern philosophies of history; from Vico back to Augustine and Orosius with their theologies of history to arrive at Chapter Eleven with the Biblical view.

The author, once of Marburg, recently of Hartford and, since the publication of this book, of the "New School of Social Research," New York, is at home in the literature and history of this difficult field. In a decade when a whole rash of books of kindred subjects is appearing, the distinctive flavor of this one makes it one of the best. Anyone willing to wade through to the end will find the reward more than adequate.

One may suggest that the reader check Professor Loewith rather carefully whenever he discusses Hegel, the Biblical view, and A. J. Toynbee. Finally, the reviewer is increasingly convinced that the "abomination of desolation" spoken of in the *Apocalypse* is a cryptic reference to footnotes relegated to the end of a book. T. D. Price

The Problem Family. By A. S. Neill, New York: Hermitage Press Inc. 225 pages. Price $2.75.

This is a disturbing book. Its subtitle is "An Investigation of Human Relations." Its writer has conducted an experimental school, limited to fewer than 100 students, known as "Summerhill." Previous books by the author are *That Dreadful School, The Problem Child, The Problem Parent, The Problem Teacher.* This volume would seem to round out the series, unless the writer should decide to write on The Problem Church.

The book is a curious mixture of good sense, keen wit, biting satire, stimulating insight, rebellion against tradition, novel theories of freedom and child nurture, love of children and disdain of the church. What he says at times about the modern family and the upbringing of children is so obviously right that when he says something that is equally obviously wrong the shock is almost imperceptible. His plea is that children be reared to love rather than to hate. To be free in spite of being bound, to love life rather than to dread death, to be brought up with a sense of guiltlessness rather than of guilt. He is not very hopeful that this ideal may be attained in the foreseeable future, nevertheless he remains an optimist. "I see a very minute fraction of children growing up in freedom and happiness, sincere, brave, loveable, in a world of hate, and I am optimistic enough to believe that this spirit of freedom will grow until man is as healthy and uninhibited as the lower animals are. It will take time, a long, long, time."

This book is quite worth reading by the mature and discriminating reader. G. S. Dobbins

The Measure of A Man. By Oliver M. Johnston, Professor Emeritus, Stanford University, California, James Ladd Delkin. 78 Pages.

No success story written by Horatio Alger ever surpassed this true story of a poor but ambitious farm boy from Louisiana who climbed to the top of the teaching profession through his grit and gumption and the grace of God. When he reached Mississippi College, January 8, 1885, he had no

high school education, no money whatever, no chance of help from home. Yet after seven and a half years of unremitting toil, in the face of all but overwhelming difficulties, he was graduated with a record that until now has never been surpassed. Earning his Doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins, he became head of the Department of Romanic languages, where he served with great distinction from 1897 until his recent retirement.

This is the sort of book that young men today need to read. It is the best possible answer to the complaint of lack of opportunity. Dr. Johnson became a great scholar, but far beyond that is his distinction of being a great Christian. The book is no mere record of his achievements in the face of difficulties—it is the philosophy of a man who found the will of God for his life and maintained himself steadily within that will through a long and useful career. Here is a sermon in a life that ought to be preached to the youth of today throughout the length and breadth of the land.

G. S. Dobbins

Time to Spare. By Douglas Steere, New York: Harper and Brothers. 187 pages. $2.00.

Increasingly laymen have been intrigued with the idea of the "religious retreat." The pressure of material concern, absorption in business and professional affairs, enervation of life due to the strain of unceasing responsibility have served to lead multitudes of men to spiritual bankruptcy or near-bankruptcy. Just to "take a vacation" and "get away from it all" is not enough. There is need of positive moral and spiritual recuperation. How can the "lay retreat" be made to serve this recreative purpose?

Here is the answer, worked out in practical detail, to the problem of "withdrawal and return." The "lay retreat" is defined and described, its setting and practice portrayed, its objectives and rewards indicated. The program of a cycle of spiritual instruction, running through at least two full days, is proposed, with ample materials suggested for the programs implementation.

A pastor, upon reading this book, will almost certainly be struck with the possibilities of the type of "lay retreat" presented for groups of laymen in his church who may be led to respond to this invitation to "withdraw and return," giving promise of desperately needed spiritual renewal.

G. S. Dobbins

Oedipus—Myth and Complex. By Patrick Mullahy, New York: Hermitage Press, Inc., 588 pages. $5.00.

A comprehensive review and critique of psychoanalytic theory since Freud is an ambitious undertaking. The author, a young man, yet possessing vast erudition, has hit upon a happy idea for the project. He finds in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles a common core of insight about which to gather similar and dissimilar elements of seven of the outstanding depth psychologists: Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, C. G. Jung, Otto Rank, Karen Herney, Erich Fromn, Harry Stack Sullivan. A unique feature of the volume is the inclusion of the Greek play *Oedipus* in full.

The author has done a remarkable job in his briefing and interpreting of the viewpoints of the psychologists represented. Those who have read the original sources will at once recognize the fidelity with which Dr. Mullahy has presented their essential teachings. Yet he has done more than to provide a mere "digest" of the primary works of the authors selected. One may not always fully agree with Mullahy's criticism and comments, but one will readily see in them the marks of a master in his field.

The author starts out somewhat bravely with his proposal to make the *Oedipus—Myth and Complex* the guiding principle of interpretation, but he does not go much beyond Freud until he all but abandons it. In all honesty, this he is compelled to do, since past Adler and Jung the *Oedipus* concept plays small part. The author in the concluding summary chapter goes back to the *Oedipus* trilogy as representing *par excellence* the insight of the ancient Greek masters into the mystery of human conduct, and somewhat feebly defends his original purpose to make the Greek play the in-

terpretative center of psychoanalytic theory. It is to his credit, however, that he does not force this issue but makes the *Oedipus* idea merely incidental in recent psychoanalytic theory. In no other single volume has there been brought together more satisfactorily the ideas of the seven leaders in the psychoanalytic field than in this exhaustive volume. The introduction by Eric Fromm is itself a valuable contribution. Fromm holds that the Oedipus myth is an integral part of the psychoanalytic system and, like the dream, is the "royal road" to the understanding of unconscious processes. Students of psychology will value highly this book.

G. S. Dobbins

A Study of Interpersonal Relations. Edited and with an introduction by Patrick Mullahy, New York: Hermitage Press Inc., 507 pages. $6.50.

The two dozen papers which constitute this volume have been selected from the writings of associates connected with the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, Inc., Washington, D. C. This Foundation has become one of the most important sources of promotion of sound psychiatric theory and practice in America. The editor is an Associate in Philosophy at Columbia University, and also an Instructor at the William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry and the Washington School of Psychiatry. The several important papers brought together represent the decided modern trend away from the earlier individual psychiatry toward a more definitely social psychiatry. As Dr. Mullahy says in the introduction, "the point of view which the writers in this volume represent indicates that fixed biological needs and drives and their frustration do not provide the locus of mental illness, that instead the social order itself is the ultimate matrix of functional mental disorder." Needless to say, this viewpoint has many radical implications. For one thing, as Dr. Mullahy points out, if psychiatry is to be socially effective it cannot willingly acquire in cheerful acceptance of the status quo. If society is producing mental disorders, society must help to provide their cure. In the long run, this means that healthy persons can be produced

only by a healthy society and that our sick society demands some drastic remedies.

Obviously a brief review cannot even attempt a critique of one of these papers, to say nothing of the two dozen. It must suffice to list some of the most interesting titles and significant writers: On Memory and Childhood Amnesia by Ernest G. Schachtel; Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology by Ernest Beaglehole; Psychiatry: Introduction to the Study of Interpersonal Relations, by Harry Stack Sullivan Recent Advances in Psychoanalytic Therapy, by Freeda Fromm-Reichmann; Cultural Pressures in the Psychology of Women and The Role of Women in this Culture, by Clara Thompson; Why Cultural Anthropology Needs the Psychiatrist, by Edward Sapir; Primary Sources and Patterns of Aggression in the Social Structure of the Western World, by Talcott Parsons; Person, Personality, Group, Culture, by Harold D. Lasswell; Mental Hygiene and the Class Structure, by Kingsley Davis; Varieties of Insight in Humans, and The Nature of Insight, by Eliot Dole Hutchinson; The Management of Anxiety in a Case of Paranoid Schizophrenia, by Robert A. Cohen.

A mere glance at these titles and authors will convice that this volume is a *must* for the student who would keep abreast of current thought in this tremendously significant field of human understanding.

G. S. Dobbins

Fundamentals of Psychoanalysis. By Franz Alexander, M.D., New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. 312 pages. $3.75.

The name of Franz Alexander has become increasingly prominent in psychiatric circles. Director of the Chicago Institute of Psychoanalysis and Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Illinois, the author is widely known as one of the leading practicing psychiatrists of America. He has written innumerable journal articles and has long been a leading figure in meetings of medical men concerned with problems of mental health. Previous to the present volume, Dr. Alexander wrote *The Medical Value of Psyschoanalysis.*

The present book started out to be a revision of the former volume but has turned out to be the first of a two-volume treatment devoted (1) to the fundamentals of psychoanalysis, (2) to the discussion of psychosomatic approach to medicine.

Dr. Alexander gives due credit to Freud, but goes far beyond the original pioneer in the field of psychoanalysis. Indeed, Dr. Alexander is not primarily concerned with theory and philosophy but therapy. Mental illness is a fact of increasing significance and the burden of its successful treatment and cure rests heavily upon the medical profession. Psychoanalysis is but one phase of the treatment of the mentally ill, but it remains a highly important and increasingly dependable phase. Dr. Alexander points out that "in the last two decades psychoanalysis has become progressively an integral part of medical theory and practice. Thirty lears ago it led an isolated existence on the border line of medicine . . . This gap appeared difficult to bridge . . . Gradually, however, the artificiality of the separation of mental from physical diseases and of mental processes from physical processes became apparent through an appreciation of their interaction." Now, no illness can be properly considered *purely* mental or *purely* physical. The science of psychosometics has been accepted as being really a science, as really as surgery is a science.

Dr. Alexander places heavy stress on the quantitative aspect of the emotions. He holds that sexuality should be defined as a specific, quantitative mode of discharge of any excitation within the organism. He concludes that "all sexual emotions have non-sexual equivalents." His theory of psychodynamics is that "erotism implies surplus." He traces the different forms of erotic behavior through its infant, childhood and adolescent phases to the consummation of genuine love which characterizes maturity. Then, he declares, "the heart is full and overflows."

The child's interest is gradually but increasingly invested in outside objects, "but love which is independent of identification appears only in maturity." Of very great impor-

tance is Dr. Alexander's view of the genito-urinary system as that "through which surplus material and surplus excitation not used in the co-ordinated self-presertative activities of the organism are drained." Continuing, he says that "before maturity it releases the excess of incorporating, eliminating, and repetitive impulses not utilized for growth. When the limit of individual growth is reached, it releases the creative energies physiologically in germ cells, and emotionally in mature love."

From this standpoint, Dr. Alexander seeks to determine the functions of the ego and its failures. To this inquiry must be brought certain inescapable sociological considerations. Dreams become highly important for diagnostic reasons. The neurosis is a disease in which the central coordinating core of the organism, the ego, is disturbed. The development and course of the neurosis are accurately described and charted. A wealth of case study material is provided with which to illustrate the author's concept of psychopathology. As would be expected, the chief contribution of the book is in the author's statement of the principles of psychoanalytic therapy. The heart of the matter is summarized in the statement: "Psychoanalysis aims at improving the ego's capacity to deal with internal and external conflicts." Dr. Alexander confesses frankly that the last word has not been said. But this view is highly important and this book cannot be ignored. G. S. Dobbins

Triumphant Personality. By Robert C. Yarbrough. New York: Macmillan Company. 104 pages. $2.00.

This is one of the many current books on personality development and deals with such problems as the handling of trouble, the mastery of fear, the overcoming of despair, and the attainment of self-mastery. It is well written out of the background of wide experience and should prove useful to Christian men and women who are in doubt or difficulty.

Hugh R. Peterson

Israel and the World. Essays in a Time of Crisis. By Martin Buber. Schocken Books, New York, 1948. 255 pages. $3.75.

Twenty-two essays written over a period of thirty years by an outstanding Jewish mystic-theologian, and now at length collected, classified, and published, prove to be surprisingly fresh and pertinent. Grouped under five general headings, Jewish Religiosity, Biblical Life, Learning and Education, Israel and the World, and Nationalism and Zion, they represent the application of Buber's concept of the Jewish people as a spiritual community to various practical problems in the mundane order. There is little apparent unity, yet the reader will find each lecture consistent with Buber's favorite interpretation of religion as "the encounter of God and man," or "the confrontation of I and Thou," made familiar in his earlier book, *I and Thou.*

Christian readers unacquainted with the liberalism of Martin Buber may be surprised at his familiarity with the New Testament and his references to Jesus and Paul (whom he prefers to call "Saul"). They will not, however, find him as close to the Christian view of life as is Sholem Asch. Buber is completely Jewish, albeit far from rigid Orthodoxy.

One of the most interesting chapters is an open letter to Gandhi, written in 1939, in defense of the Zionist effort to establish a national home in Palestine, which Gandhi had criticized on grounds of its brutality and injustice to the Arabs. The fact that Buber is able to hurl at Gandhi a *tu quoque* reveals how completely each of these great mystical souls has been limited by a blind adherence to narrow nationalistic aims. H. C. Goerner

Kingship and the Gods. A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature. By Henri Frankfort, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. 444 pages. $5.00.

Professor Frankfort, Oriental archaeologist of the University of Chicago, has brought Near Eastern investigations to a most valuable fruition in this interpretation of religious thought as related to the concept of kingship. He derives his conclusions from both art forms and textual materials, acknowledging his indebtedness to his Oriental Institute col-

leagues, Wilson and Jacobsen, in the interpretation of the latter.

To the author the institution of kingship must be regarded as the very foundation of Near Eastern civilization. Egypt and Mesopotamia, the two centers of ancient culture, agreed that society was embedded in nature, that nature was but a manifestation of the divine, and that the function of kingship was to maintain harmonious relationships between human existence and the supernatural order in which it was embedded. The two countries, however, expressed quite divergent views rgarding the nature of the king and of the universe in which he functioned. Though both societies moved in harmony with nature through a recurring sequence of seasonal religious festivals, these celebrations differed profoundly in spirit. In Egypt, where the universe was viewed as essentially static, these festivals provided occasion to affirm that all was well. In Mesopotamia, however, as a result of a dynamic view of the universe, they were characterized by anxiety and showed a progression of feeling from deep gloom to exultation.

In both countries the integration of society and nature accomplished in the festivals had as its chief objective the maintenance of life. In Mesopotamia it was life on earth, instead of the immortality of the individual, which caused concern; whereas Egypt denied the reality of death and considered life to be everlasting.

The fundamental concept of kingship among the Egyptians was that Pharaoh was a god incarnate. Among the Mesopotamians, on the other hand, the king was simply a great man—a member of the community. The consequence of this divergence was that Egypt sacrificed liberty for the sake of certainty concerning the integration of society and nature, whereas Mesopotamia gained liberty (since its ruler was a man) at the expense of eternal anxiety lest this delicate harmony be disturbed.

The views of both the Egyptians and Babylonians were rejected by the Hebrew prophets, who insisted on the uniqueness and transcendence of an only God, and who viewed

all true values, in the last analysis, as attributes of His. As a result of this doctrine of God, concrete phenomena were devaluated, the ancient bond between man and nature destroyed, and kingship thereby stripped of its most significant Near Eastern function.

Professor Frankfort's treatment of Egyptian and Mesopotamian life and thought is done with great thoroughness. The Hebrews are treated only in a brief epilogue which, though it may be considered inadequate in some respects, nevertheless serves the purposes of contrast for which it was intended. This work makes an extremely important contribution to our understanding of ancient Near Eastern thought-life, to which the Hebrews were exposed, but against which they reacted so strenuously. Wm. H. Morton

Man's Religions. By John B. Noss. The Macmillan Company, 1949. 812 pages. $4.50.

In spite of the fact that there are several good one-volume introductions to the religions of the world, there was definitely room for another one, and the appearance of this book by the Professor of Philosophy at Franklin and Marshall College is an event of real importance to students in the field. Many who have been teaching the subject will welcome the book, and it can be expected rapidly to replace certain old favorites as a textbook in colleges and seminaries.

In the Preface, Dr. Noss points out accurately the distinctive features of his treatment. First, he uses quotations from original source materials more freely than other previous books of this type; and second, he stresses the development of the various religions from their origin down to the recent past, thus covering the whole range of history much more fully than others. Most brief treatments place disproportionate emphasis upon founders and early development, skipping centuries of significant history to come to a summary account of the present status of each religion. The comprehensiveness and clarity with which the whole story of "Man's Religions" is encompassed within this volume is cause for admiration and gratitude. To be sure, Primitive

Religion is dismissed with thirty-five pages and with only two case studies from among the many different concrete varieties. Yet, within the necessary limitations, apart from a possible question at this point, the book is well balanced.

Conservative Christians may take offense at some statements in the book, since Dr. Noss takes full account of liberal scholarship in his discussion of Judaism and Christianity. Nevertheless, he does not side with the most radical of the critics and is usually careful to distinguish between a critical *theory* and the acknowledged facts. Some interpretation will be required in these sections, and the college teacher should be prepared to make this interpretation before announcing the book as a text.

Ministers who wish to review their seminary course in Comparative Religion and add to their knowledge of the religions of the world will find this a fresh and interesting study. Macmillan Company has done a beautiful job of printing, and in view of the more than eight hundred pages, the price is not unreasonable. The book is of permanent value.

H. C. Goerner

The Upanishads, Vol. 1. By Swami Nikhilananda. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1949. 319 pages. $3.50.

This is the first of further translations to come of the main body of Indian philosophic literature. This translation of these philosophic treatises offers to the English-reading public four of the later *Upanishads.* These are the *Katha, Isa, Kena,* and *Mundaka.* The translations are prefixed by a general introduction, pages 1-24, and a discussion of Brahman in the *Upanishads,* pages 25-106. With each of the *Upanishads* is given the author's introduction and an introduction by Sankaracharya. A brief glossary concludes the book.

Since most or all other English translations of the *Upanishads* are out of print, this one is doubly welcome.

T. D. Price

These Also Believe. By Charles S. Braden. The Macmillan Company, 1949. 491 pages. $6.00.

There has been no more serious student of modern American cults and isms than Professor Braden of Northwestern University. In frequent articles and in one previous book he has shared some of his findings in this fascinating field. Now in a carefully composed book of nearly five hundred pages he gives us the first really adequate treatment of thirteen of the more important sects. There are separate chapters on Father Divine, Psychiana, New Thought, Unity, Christian Science, Theosophy, I Am, Liberal Catholicism, Spiritualism, Jehovah's Witnesses, Anglo-Israel, the Oxford Group, and Mormonism. Two valuable appendices give a selected bibliography and a dictionary of cults, which explains briefly the essentials of eighteen additional movements.

Dr. Braden writes as a Christian and brings out clearly the points at which the isms diverge from orthodox belief and practice. Yet he is studiously fair and sympathetic in his attitude. He does not attack or seek to refute the teachings of the sects. He tries merely to record the facts concerning these religious movements, how they began, what they actually believe and practice, how extensive they have become. His findings come not only from wide reading of source materials, but also from numerous visits to cult centers, interviews with leaders, and correspondence with devotees of the various movements. The result is an admirable piece of research which is likely to stand for a long time as the best thing in the field.

In spite of the rather forbidding price, no minister can afford to pass up this book. If he has not already discovered the amazing growth and subtle appeal of these isms, it will bring a revelation to him and open up an area of great importance. If he has been troubled by some of the sects, this book will bring the answer to many questions of fact and put the minister in the way of understanding them and dealing with those who may be attracted by them.

On the other hand, the book is not one to be placed in the hands of the questioning youth or the immature layman. It does not offer sufficient guidance in the midst of the maze of confusing beliefs and weird ways. It could result in the unsettling of sound faith or the experimental dabbling in some of the isms. There is still room for a strong, reasoned, apologetic answer to the claims of the sects, in the light of Christian truth and experience. H. C. Goerner

Voice and Diction. By Victor A. Fields and James F. Bender. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. viii plus 336 pages. $4.00.

Here is a logically planned, exceedingly well-developed handbook which is just what its authors claim for it: a reference manual and a textbook, with emphasis upon drill materials to enable teachers and students of voice and diction to formulate corrective procedures for such different types of speech and voice handicaps as indistinctness, rate difficulties, faults of phonation, vocal resonance, projection and pitch, problems of pronunciation, vocabulary building and oral interpretation, speech-fright, poor posture, and faulty breathing, misarticulations of certain English sounds, and stuttering. Certainly the book should be of value as a check-up for all professional speakers and, as such, it is highly recommended. Charles A. McGlon

Fundamentals of Speech. By Roy C. McCall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. xii plus 240 pages. $2.50.

What are the Fundamentals of Speech? This question has confronted speakers and teachers of speech alike. Dr. McCall, Head of the Department of Speech at the University of Oregon, answers it in the following manner: (1) adjustment to the speaking situation, (2) habits of orderly thinking, (3) habits of courteous attention and analytical listening, (4) release and refinement of audible and visible modes of expression consistent with the individuality of each personality, (5) awareness of the art aspect, or techniques, of composition for oral situations, (6) awareness of needs of special occasions or forms of speech, and (7) awareness of the task and of the methods of improvement in the use of language.

To help his readers improve their control over the seven fundamentals, Dr. McCall has written a well-organized, adequate treatment of each important aspect of speech fundamentals. Easy to read and pleasing in format, his book presents a pleasant over-view of introductory speech instruction.

Charles A. McGlon

Communications in Modern Society, Fifteen Studies of the Mass Media Prepared for the University of Illinois Institute of Communications Research. Edited by Wilbur Schramm. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1948. vi plus 252 pages. $4.00.

The gist of this stimulating, informative work is that "the classical statement of the communication process is *A communicates B through channel C to D with effect E.* Each of the letters is to some extent an unknown, and the process can be solved for any one of them or any combination." To help make *known* the *unknown* factors involved in man's communicating with man by means of the press, the radio, the public opinion poll, the film, and the platform, this volume was published. The fifteen articles and the carefully annotated bibliography supply "eye-opening" information for persons concerned about the way one man tries to "get his ideas over" to another man for a definite effect. By implication, at least, this volume contains much food for thought for all public speakers.

Charles A. McGlon

The Art of Conference. By Frank Walser. New York: Harper and Brothers. Revised Edition, 1948. xi plus 206 pages. $3.00.

Practical Debating. By Luther W. Courtney and Glenn R. Capp. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1949. xii plus 308 pages.

Placing his emphasis upon the need for trained chairmen to lead discussion, for informed participants around the conference table and to avoid endless and pointless talk, and for use of pause or intermission to allow conferees to "collect their wits" and "cool off" when the discussion is heated or deadlocked, Mr. Walser has made a valuable contribution in *The Art of Conference.* By adding secretarial records and his own analyses of various recent conferences, he has given increased strength to his earlier work that had already be-

come a standard reference work on conference methods—methods which are an essential part of every religious speaker's accomplishments.

The difference between Conference and Debate is one primarily of degree and of formality. Every public speaker must learn to "present his case" to advantage. It appears that no one ever comes to the point that he does not need to inquire further into the "know-how" of argumentation and debate—not necessarily in order to be a better debater, but simply to be a better thinker and, consequently, a better speaker. It is with pleasure that *Practical Debating* is recommended, not only because the book is practical, but also because it has been written by two professors of reputation, character, and solid experience at Baylor University. An atmosphere of ethical and educational values definitely pervades the discussion in the text. The book is a welcome addition, therefore, to its area of speech education.

Charles A. McGlon

A Book of Dramas. Edited and with an Introduction by Bruce Carpenter. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. xxvii plus 992 pages. $3.75.

A Play of St. George. By John Masefield. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. 53 pages. $2.00.

For the minister as a public speaker, *A Book of Dramas* has at least two values: it presents excellent illustrative material taken from lives either made or broken by conflict, and it re-introduces him to the sabre-sharp technique of dramatics as one means of striking the point of communication he is after. Furthermore, including fifteen full-length plays ranging from "Agamemnon" by Aeschylus to "The Long Voyage Home" by Eugene O'Neill, the volume is a good one to have for moments of relaxed reading for personal enjoyment.

To one ever on the look-out for good religious drama, "A Play of St. George," written in blank verse for seventeen characters and a chorus, has possibilities. Being the work of the Poet Laureate of England, it has the prestige of authorship; and being a play "about an inspiring act of faith" it has

a timely and appropriate theme. Because of the length of some speeches and the particular bent of others, some cutting may be necessary; but, for the most part, this is a welcome addition to the all-too-meagre supply of drama for the church. Charles A. McGlon.

Jesus the Preacher. By Francis J. Handy. Abingdon-Cokesbury. $1.75.

The preacher must be always studying preaching. And what better can serve him than now and again to refresh his spirit and method in the preaching of Jesus. This book represents what one preacher discovered in a careful review of the story of our Lord's ministry in the Synoptic Gospels.

In an opening chapter the work of Jesus is compared with that of the prophet and scribe, synagogue preacher and worship leader, whose best traits appear in him and his preaching. There are excellent chapters on his use of language and illustration. In analytical studies the preaching of Jesus is described as expository and evangelical; also as doctrinal, polemic, apologetic, ethical and eschatological, always with a study of his procedure. The closing chapter is a study of the ruling ideas of his preaching and their meaning for modern preaching.

The material in the Gospels does not give us a full report. "Life-size" pictures are few, but Dr. Handy has made good use of what we do have and has helped to fill out the picture of the Master Preacher. J. B. Weatherspoon.

Lincoln and the Preachers. By Edgar Dewitt Jones. New York: Harpers, 1949. 203 pages. $2.50.

Edgar Dewitt Jones has been a student of Lincoln all his life. This life-long study has come to fruition in the writing of this unusual book about Lincoln. Of the hundreds of books on Lincoln, this is the first to cover thoroughly the place of religion in Lincoln's life and his relation to preachers.

Lincoln knew many preachers personally—such men as Bishop Matthew Simpson, Owen Lovejoy, Peter Cartwright,

Henry Ward Beecher, etc. Chapters are devoted to show how these men influenced Lincoln and he them.

One chapter which every preacher will enjoy is "Lincoln's Preacher Stories." All in all, it is a readable and enjoyable book.

Carl Sandburg has said of it, "A book on your plan is not on the Lincolnians shelf as yet. I am glad this has been covered by one of your viewpoint and thoroughness." This book will be welcomed by all readers of Lincoln books.

V. L. Stanfield.

Christianity on the Offensive. By Allen Walker. London: The Epworth Press. 1949. 165 pages.

Even though these sermons were preached on the other side of the world (Sidney, Australia), they are remarkably revelant to our own conditions here in America. The author shows a real ability to combine life-centered preaching and Bible-centered preaching to the end that the timeless truths of our Christian faith are made applicable to current world problems as well as to the inner psychological problems of individuals. The preacher who finds inspiration in the written sermons of other preachers will discover this little volume to be both stimulating and helpful.

Hugh R. Peterson

Enriching Worship. Edited by A. J. William Myers. New York: Harpers, 1949. 398 pages. $3.50.

Enriching Worship is an appropriate title for this collection of materials. For rightly used, these selections will enrich any worship service.

The editor, Dr. A. J. W. Meyers, has been collecting worship materials for twenty years. His aim has been to find that which was good literature and rich in Christian content. After reading scores of sources, he has put in this book the best of his findings.

The volume has five sections made up of 127 prose selections, 357 poems, 357 aphorisms, 139 prayers, and 84 psalms for Christian worship.

This book contains some very usable materials which will prove of great value to every preacher and teacher.

V. L. Stanfield

The Gospel of the King. By F. B. Meyer. Baker Book House. $1.50

F. B. Meyer was one of the greater devotional preachers of the last generation. He studied the Bible—and he did study it—to get his message for the souls of men. The persons, facts and truths were important to him not as contributing to learning, but, having been learned, as giving light and strength to life. He was always drawing lessons and persuading men; sometimes his lessons were more than the critical exegete would allow, but even then the goodness of the lesson was the thing that impressed the hearer most. He had a great devotion to Christ as the sermons in this volume reveal, a devotion that made every fact and every deed, every trait, every word worth scrutinizing for its meaning to one's own life.

J. B. Weatherspoon

The Importance of Being Ourselves. By Arnold H. Lowe. New York: Harpers, 1949. 179 pages. $2.00.

Dr. Arnold H. Lowe is minister of the Westminister Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis. This book is a selection of his outstanding sermons delivered from his pulpit and before conferences of ministers and laymen throughout the country.

These sermons are examples of a kind of preaching much needed in our day. They have been prepared to met problems, seek to win decisions, and are marked by warmth, brevity, and clarity.

Some of the sermons which especially impressed the reviewer were "Something Must Happen to Us," "When a Man Prays," "This Age and Our Children," and "I Shall Say to My Soul." The preacher who reads these sermons will not only find many stimulating and suggestive ideas, but he will also receive a new incentive to preach.

V. L. Stanfield

The Plight of Freedom. By Paul Scherer. Harper and Brothers $2.50.

In six chapters Dr. Scherer not only discusses with remarkable insight the plight of freedom in our time but points the way of recovery. His comprehensive affirmation is this: "It is in the re-discovery and re-assertion of the Christian faith, itself the great throbbing heart of the Reformation, that this helpless, hopeless humanity of ours must once more come upon the terms of its slavery and the source of its freedom." (p. 27).

In the Christian faith are found the roots of those freedoms that are necessary to any social freedom for humanity: the sovereignty of God, the dignity of man, the Incarnation of God in Christ, the brotherhood of men, and God's eternal purpose in Christ. These are the necessary context of freedom, in which character, conscience, attitudes and principles of life must find their goals if we are to "keep humanity human." J. B. Weatherspoon

The Loneliest Journey. By Frances I. Jackson. Philadelphia: Westminister Press. 1949. 95 pages. $1.50.

There are times when the testimony of an earnest Christian to the working of the Holy Spirit in his or her heart is the very thing an individual needs to stimulate his or her own experience.. This is such a testimony. It is well written and will prove helpful to those who really desire their religious faith to be more meaningful to themselves and to those about them. Hugh R. Peterson

Preaching Unashamed. By Joseph R. Sizoo. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesburg Press, 1949. 132 pages. $1.75.

Joseph R. Sizoo has been "preaching unashamed" for nearly forty years. After early pastorates in Walden, New York, and Summerville, New Jersey, he was pastor of the New York Avenue Presbyterian in Washington, D. C., from 1924-1936 and of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in New York from 1936-1947. Since 1947 he has been President of New Brunswick Theological Seminary.

Preaching Unashamed is a series of lectures given under the Jarrell Foundation at Emory University. Dr. Sizoo's in-

tention was not to offer a formal treatise on preaching, but rather to share the fruits of his preaching experience with others. Consequently the book is informal conversational, and makes the reader feel that he is having a chat with the author.

Dr. Sizoo insists upon the necessity of preaching, the need of knowing our age, and value of preaching biblical truth. This book is inspirational and will give every preacher who reads it a renewed desire to preach.

V. L. Stanfield

The Best of Alexander Maclaren. Edited by Gaius Glenn Atkins. New York: Harpers, 1949. 167 pages. $2.00.

The Best of Alexander Maclaren is the third in the series of compilations of the enduring works of some of the great pulpit masters of the past.

Alexander Maclaren, one of the most famous Baptist preachers in Christian history, was a great expositor and sermonizer. He published more books of sermons than any preacher before him, and the grace, force, and quality of his literary style make them readable today.

This book is composed of 20 sermons which were selected from 427 printed sermons. Each sermon is preceded by one of Dr. Maclaren's beautifully phrased meditations and followed by a pulpit prayer. The 12 page biographical sketch by Dr. Atkins gives a splendid account and evaluation of Dr. Maclaren's life and work.

The reviewer highly recommends this book and "the best of" series to every preacher. These are the kind of sermon books which the preacher should have in his library.

V. L. Stanfield

Family Circle. By Maldwyn Edwards. London: The Epworth Press, 1949. 192 pages.

Another book on the Wesleys by their distinguished admirer and chronicler is very welcome. The motif of the study is the influence of the home circle on John and Charles Wesley. Any light thrown upon the career of these towering

Christian figures is a service well rendered. The author has had access to the original documents and letters, some of which are unpublished. The theme of the book is quite restricted, but it deals with a subject nowhere else satisfactorily expounded. The book is therefore both worthwhile and interesting. T. D. Price

Books of Faith and Power. By John T. McNeill. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. 183 pages. $2.00.

What teachings are needed more today than the freedom of the Christian man, the sovereign majesty and unmerited grace of God, philosophic breadth and the tolerant spirit, the salvation of souls from a world of sin, the separation of the Christian to a life of godly devotion, and the life of persistent Christian activity? In his discussion of six Protestant classics, Professor John T. McNeill, of Union Theological Seminary in New York, has called attention to the great Christian leaders who made these themes relevant in the Reformation and later. Martin Luther's *On Christian Liberty,* John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* Richard Hooker's *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,* John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress,* William Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life,* and John Wesley's *Journal* are digested and placed in the hitsorical setting of the Reformation by an undisputed authority in this field of study. His demonstration of the great treasurers to be found in these writings is of great value to those who do not have time to pursue detailed research and an excellent guide to those who wish to read the works for the first time. Pastors and teachers could do a great service to their people and students by using this little book in a series of studies on the great themes of these books of faith and power. Dale Moody

Tears and Laughter. By Kahil Gibran. Translated from the Arabic by Anthony Rizzallah Ferris. Edited by Martin L. Wolf. Philosophical Library, New York, 1949. 127 pages. $2.75.

The editor introduces this "new and enlarged edition" with a long preface full of the highest praise, amounting al-

most to adoration for the author. The original edition was noted in this review a number of years ago.

The volume consists of numerous prose meditations and poems which present in mystic terms and oriental allegory aspects of a philosophy of life turning especially toward the inner springs of conduct and character. For those who like this sort of thing this volume will be particularly attractive even if it may fail to awaken the same enthusiasm in all readers that inspires the editor. For many readers certainly they will "reach the deepest recesses of our emotional and spiritual awareness." W. O. Carver

The Pilgrimage of Peter Strong. By Paul Geren. New York: Harpers, 1948. 229 pages. $2.75.

Paul Geren, author of *Burma Diary,* was a member of the medical corps, stationed in Burma during the last war. Dr. Geren drove an ambulance, carried a stretcher, helped in hospitals, and ministered to the sick and wounded; in brief, he lived in the presence of the unending crisis of life and death.

His spiritual sensitivity prompted him to interpret these experiences. The result is not a war chronicle, but a record of the pilgrimage of his soul as he sought for spiritual certainty.

The book is interesting from beginning to end. The Prologue, citing Peter's experiences in a small Southern Baptist church, will cause many readers to relive pleasant memories. The book as a whole will draw the reader near the ultimate meaning of life, and perhaps send him on a spiritual pilgrimage of his own. V. L. Stanfield

The Master's Minority. By Frank H. Leavell. Broadman Press, Nashville, Tennessee. 189 pages. $2.25.

Men are not only called to a general Christian ministry, but they are oftentimes called for the performance of specific phases of this ministry to the world. Dr. Frank H. Leavell, the B.S.U. Secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention, certainly belongs to the group upon whom God laid his hand for special ministry. There is a sense in which he might be

called the Southern Baptist apostle to young people, particularly on the student level of their lives. He has a passion to use Christian students in invading the campuses of our country with the Christian message.

In my judgment his emphasis upon the Master's Minority will cause him to go down in history as a man whose peculiar emphasis made a definite contribution to our whole Kingdom program. It is somewhat a revival of the Old Testament idea of the holy remnant, those small groups whom God was pleased to use in various and sundry crises. But Dr. Leavell has applied the idea to the characteristic ministry of Christians in the world. Up until now Christian groups have always been in the minority, but their minority does not mean that they have failed or been defeated by the majority groups. A Gideon's band empowered by the living God is always capable of putting their enemies to flight regardless of their numerical setrength.

It is my studied judgment that Dr. Leavell through his faithful and persistent effort to inspire minority Christian groups to believe, to experience, and to live by the gospel on their respective campuses has made a major contribution to this day and generation.

This book is merely a statement of the origin of the idea, as our students have sponsored it for a score of years, and a record of the great results which have accrued into the Kingdom of God as a result of the Baptist Student Union ministry on our campuses. Ellis A. Fuller

Fundamentals of Faith. By J. A. Edgren. Translated from Swedish by J. O. Backlund. Chicago, Illinois: Baptist Conference Press, 1948. 207 pages. $2.00.

Looking toward the centennial in 1952 of Swedish Baptist work in America, this delightful book has been published as the first in a series to celebrate the labors of this earnest group of Baptists. The author of the book died in 1908, but this is the first time his *Biblick Troslara* has appeared in English. One does not read far before it is clear that the Board of Publication of the Baptist General Conference of

America had good judgment in the selection of this translation.

The author's conservative and traditional theology is full of spiritual worth because he begins with the basic belief that "religion is essentially life-communion with God." "Man," he continues, "was created and designed for such communion; hence it is a real need which nothing else can satisfy. This need becomes true religion when God communicates Himself in such a way that a living faith is awakened and nourished in man." (p. 9.) And these are not the words of a speculate system builder. John Alexis Edgren was born in Sweden and became a sailor at the age of thirteen. After several years he "passed through a spiritual experience which enabled him to say that old things had passed away and all things had become new" (p. 205), and was baptized in the Mariners Baptist Church in New York. This vital Christian experience lives in this little systematic study of Christian faith.

Some expressions are not altogether satisfactory. Like Strong, the author speaks of the Bible as the complete revelation of God (pp. 9, 14). Would it not be better to say that the Bible is a witness to God's perfect revelation in Christ? And again the cosmology and anthropology need to be adjusted to more recent studies in biblical theology. However, the book as a whole is an excellent example of concise and lucid statment of Christian faith. Dale Moody

Slavonic Encyclopaedia. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek. Philosophical Library. New York, 1949. 1,445 pages. $18.50.

Whether we like it or not, Soviet Russia and the nations within the orbit of Russian influence are to play an increasingly important part in world events. The next century, which has been dubbed "the American Century," may well prove to be fully as much "the Slavic Century," for the Slavic peoples of Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Yugoslavia, and other smaller nations are truly coming into new prominence.

The English-speaking public is largely uninformed concerning this part of our world. This means that, as these

countries continue to break into the news, many questions will arise in the minds of Western readers. Many of the answers can be found in this unique reference work, the *Slavonic Encyclopaedia.* It is a small library on things Slavic within the covers of one book, arranged in the most useful form. Over a hundred authorities have contributed articles, many of whom are well-known journalists, college professors, and diplomats.

No brief reveiw can adequately describe the scope of the work. Some idea of the contents can be seen from a partial list of major topics treated, which includes Art, Costumes, Education, Folklore, Foreign Policy, History, Language, Literature, Politics and Government, and Sociology. Under each such major topic are found articles on Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, etc. Scores of biographical sketches of prominent Slavs, both ancient and modern, are included. Place-names are also carefully identified and located. An Appendix gives the Constitution of each of the various Slavonic governments.

So far as can be detected from a generous sampling of the articles, the book is not propagandistic in nature. While it is certainly not anti-Communist, it is not pro-Communist in a blind, sectarian sense. Objectivity is achieved by most of the writers in dealing with historical facts. If there is any propagandistic slant to the work, it is in a basic assumption of "Pan-Slavism," that is, a cultural unity of Slavic peoples wherever found, under whatever type of government. The existence of that unity may be over-emphasized by some writers, but it is difficult to see any danger in the emphasis.

The price may seem high, but it should be noted that the book contains 1,445 pages, with double columns in rather fine type. Use of abbreviations throughout further increases the word content per page. Under the circumstances, the price is not unreasonable, and nowhere else can one find as much information on the subject. H. C. Goerner

Stalin: A Political Biography. By Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press, New York, 1949. 600 pages. $5.00.

None but a special student of Russia and of its powerful dictator would be competent to appraise so voluminous a work by an author who has equipped himself through long studies and multiple contacts for telling his story. I am not such a special student and would not be able to pass on any of the facts.

Deutscher was 42 when this work was published, reared in Poland, interested in political life and in its literature from his youth, he has had wide and varied opportunities to know his subject in all its setting. It is claimed that this professedly "political biography" is the result of the most thorough research, the most painstaking care in checking the contradictory material and that for the most part it is based on documentary sources. It aims to be objective, "neither an apologia for nor an indictment of Stalin." It is well written and would seem to be the best single volume for getting to know one of the world's most presently significant factors. W. O. Carver

The Story of John Hope. By Ridgley Torrence, New York: The Macmillan Company, 400 pages. $5.00.

This is one of the most important contributions yet made to the Negro literature in America. John Hope, whose story is intriguingly told by Ridgley Torrence, was the founder and first President of Morehouse College, Atlanta. His is indeed a strange story. He was an American of Scotch descent who had somewhere among his ancestors a black line. He possessed none of the physical characteristics of the Negro, yet all his life he completely identified himself with the Negro race. Born and reared among the better class of Augusta, Georgia, he went to New England for his education. He then turned aside from an alluring career in journalism to devote his life to the realization of his dream of educational privileges for Southern Negro youth. His death in 1936 brought to a close a notable career.

Ridgley Torrence, poet and litterateur, is uniquely qualified to be John Hope's biographer. To a vast amount of

minute research into the details of Hope's life, the author has brought sympathy and insight into an understanding and appreciation not only of the man but of the Negro. Mr. Torrence has interpreted the frustration and longings, the defeats and aspirations, the potentialities and limitations of "the new Negro," that man among us who, though black of skin, is beginning to assert his rights as a human being and to achieve his destiny as a free American. Few stories of fiction, written about the Negro, can match this narrative of fact for sustained interest and dramatic appeal.

Let no one who is really interested in understanding the Negro, North or South, present or future, fail to get this book. G. S. Dobbins

One Increasing Purpose. The Life of Henry Winters Luce. By B. A. Garside. Fleming H. Revell, New York, 1948. 271 pages. $1.25

Henry Winters Luce, missionary educator in China from 1897 to 1927, is not as well known as his son, Henry Robinson Luce, the editor of *Time, Fortune,* and *Life.* Yet the contributions of the elder Luce to the field of higher education on two continents may well be adjudged of more enduring significance than the achievements of a different nature credited to his highly successful journalist-son. He played a major role in the building of two outstanding Christian universities in China, taught for seven years in the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, Connecticut, and served as a roving ambassador of goodwill and interpreter between East and West in a critical time in world history. It is well that he has been rescued from oblivion by a sympathetic biographer, who has given to the world a full-length protrait which needs no reflected light in which to stand.

Educated at Yale, Union, and Princeton Seminary, Harry Luce was a liberal, both in theology and in educational theory. He pioneered in the field of interdenominational co-operation in Higher Education, serving for a time as secretary of the China Christian Educational Association. Endowed with the ability to raise money, he was twice given the position of vice president of a new university and as-

signed the chief responsibility of providing the funds and directing the building operations. Both Cheeloo University in Tsinan and Yenching University in Peking are monuments to his industry and imagination.

More than a biography, this book interprets the major world events and thought currents affecting China and the United States during the life-span of Henry Luce, which ended just as an era was dying in the Orient, in December, 1941.

H. C. Goerner

Christ's Expendables. By Charles E. Maddry. Broadman Press. $1.75.

The name of Dr. Maddry is familiar to all Southern Baptists and to many others around the world. One of the elements of strength in his work as a Secretary of Missions was big-hearted interest in people. Missions to him meant men and women living and preaching the gospel in the needy places of the world and consecrated Christians in the home churches supporting them with their love and prayers and gifts.

This little book is an expression of the concrete view he had of the business of missions. These are stories from the history of Southern Baptist Foreign Missions, many of which are warmed by his personal knowledge of those about whom he writes. They place us farther in debt to the noble man who has done so much to advance the cause of missions.

J. B. Weatherspoon

China: the Land and the People. By Gerald F. Winfield. William Sloane Associates, Inc., New York, 1948. 437 pages. $5.00.

For those who are tempted to mark China off and, with a shrug, "let the Communists have it," this book should be required reading. With convincing thoroughness, the youthful scientist-author pursues his basic thesis, that China is the key to peace and prosperity, not only in Asia, but in the entire world; and that "the American way of life can survive only if China succeeds in rebuilding herself in such a way as to raise the standard of life of all her people."

In the process of proving that the problems of China can and must be solved, Gerald Winfield has written the fullest, most readable description of the real China that has appeared in print. He has proposed the most realistic and complete program for rebuilding the nation that has been offered to the general public. His book presents the broad lines of a blue-print which should be followed by government agencies, philanthropic and missionary organizations which will collaborate in a program of social, economic, and educational betterment of China's masses, when the inevitable day arrives, in which we are forced to face the problems previously avoided.

The author went to China in 1932 as a medical missionary of the Northern Presbyterian board. He plunged at once into the problems of public hygiene and disease prevention. As head of the department of Biology at Cheeloo University, he directed important research projects, one of which sought to determine how fecal-borne diseases could be checked without upsetting the entire agricultural economy of the nation, which is based upon the use of human waste products as fertilizer. This led to experiments in agriculture and detailed investigations into living habits, diet, housing, local government, etc. Travelling widely, mingling with the common people, observing with the practiced eye of the scientist, Winfield gathered a mass of accurate factual material which is probably the most revealing cross-section of Chinese life ever put together.

The first half of the book, describing China as it is and has been, emphasizes the baffling problems found there. Separate chapters deal with Geographic and Human Foundations; Agriculture, Diet, Clothing, and Shelter; Commerce, Industry and Transportation; Health; Education; Language; Local Government; War and the People of China. The wealth of statistical facts gives a solid quality to the work, while the author's intense interest in human beings and his witty style save the treatment from dryness.

In Part II, the author outlines a realistic 50-year program for creating a modernized China, with chapters en-

titled "Starting with Sanitation;" "Expanding Agricultural Production;" "Industrial Consequences;" "Population Control;" and "Education—the Prime Mover." It is somewhat surprising that the place of religion as a motivating force is not fully recognized.

Dr. Winfield is now in New York, serving as Director of United Service to China and Secretary of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. His is a voice which should be heard by all who are grappling with the question of Chinese-American relations. His book will long remain a valuable source of information, regardless of which way the tide turns in China. H. C. Goerner

Japan's New Day. By Edwin B. Dozier. Broadman Press, Nashivlle, 1949. 154 pages. Paper 60 cents.

My Daddy Told Me. By Sarah Ellen. Broadman Press Nashville, 1949. 78 pages. Paper 40 cents.

Chie-ko-chan. By Mary Wiley Dozier. Broadman Press, Nashville, 1949. 40 large pages illustrated. Paper 50 cents.

The Doziers of Japan have made the writing of books a family affair, providing three of the five new volumes in the graded series for 1949-50. "Daddy" (Edwin B.) Dozier leads off with the book for adults. Sarah Ellen, the daughter who was born in Japan just twelve years ago, writes the book for her Junior friends in America; while Mrs. Mary Wiley Dozier, Sarah Ellen's mother, puts the story of Chie-ko-chan, a little Japanese girl, into suitable language for Primary children. Each book is well suited to its particular age group, and together they give a splendid picture of life in Japan and a warm message from the entire Baptist missionary famliy in that land to the Baptists of America.

As the author of a history of the first fifty years of Southern Baptist mission work in Japan (*A Golden Milestone in Japan*, 1940) and as the first Southern Baptist representative to return to Japan after the war, Edwin B. Dozier was unusually well qualified to write a serious study of the "New Day" brought about by the war, defeat, and American occupation. He has given a realistic picture of

the baffling problems of reconstruction, of rival ideologies and conflicting claims, of the United Church and the small Baptist denomination. The book is not one for light reading, but it tells the things which Baptists need to know in order to understand the present situation and respond intelligently to its challenge.

Sarah Ellen's book takes the form of a report to children of her own age of things her Daddy has told her, in letters from Japan while the family was separated, and in subsequent conversations, covering the very conditions more fully described in the book for adults. Doubtless Sarah Ellen had help from her mother in remembering the right things to say and in saying them well. The book is intimately personal, yet not childish. It contains some interesting stories not found elsewhere, which may appeal to older folk.

"Chie-ko-chan" becomes a very real little person to those who read her story and look at the many actual photographs which illustrate Mrs. Dozier's book. It is well designed to create interest and sympathetic understanding for Japanese children in the hearts of little Americans. All in all, the Doziers have done a good job of interpreting the land of their adoption to the people of the United States.

H. C. Goerner

The Seven Stars. By Toru Matsumoto. The Friendship Press, New York, 1948. 214 pages. Cloth $2.50. Paper $1.00.

In 1928 seven Japanese schoolboys took a pledge to stick together for the future no matter what might happen, calling themselves "the Seven Stars," and promising to write to each other if separated. Little could they foresee the tumultuous events which were to sweep over their beloved land in the thirties and forties, and the varied roles they were to play during those days. One became a naval officer and went to his death at Pearl Harbor; one became a Communist, went underground in opposition to his government, and died as a result of the rigors of confinement and grilling by secret police. One was conscripted to fight in Manchuria and became a prisoner of the Russians; another sent to the South

Seas failed to return; still another fought in China and lived to be repatriated. Only one of the seven was a Christian during school days. He studied agriculture, and carried on a rural community project in spite of persecution during the war. The seventh "star" who tells the story of the group in the first person, had varying experiences which resulted in his conversion to Christianity as the war ended.

The book is a novel, based upon actual events in the life of the author and his six boyhood companions, but embellished with some fictitious material. A more revealing story of the actual life of Japanese youth, the cross-currents of rival ideologies, the inner struggles in confused young minds, can hardly be imagined. No punches are pulled in presenting the appeal of Communism, even if Christianity is granted a slight edge in the battle for the soul of Japan. Anyone who would know the problems of New Japan, not in abstract theory, but in flesh-and-blood reality, would do well to read thoughtfully this unusual novel. It is particularly well suited for use as a background book for young people engaged in mission study on the current topic.

H. C. Goerner

Jottings from Japan. By Ernest O. Mills. Broadman Press, Nashville, 1949. 84 pages. Paper 40 cents.

Ring In the New. By Akiko Endo. Broadman Press, 1949. 84 pages. Paper 40 cents.

Two quite different aspects of Japan are presented in these small study books, one by a retired missionary, the other by a young Japanese Christian. *Jottings from Japan,* prepared for use by Intermediates, is based upon the journal of Ernest O. Mills, who served as a missionary from 1910 to 1942. It reflects the customs and religion of the Japanese people as they were before the revolutionary changes of recent years. Much of this will remain unchanged, despite the war and its aftermath, and it is well for Intermediates to be given an insight into the normal life of the land. Few have written more engagingly of the foods, festivals, foibles, and folks of the Sunrise Kingdom than has Mr. Mills.

Throbbing with youthful vitality and faith in the future is the book of Miss Endo, written for Young People. The five chapters describe in turn "Old Japan," "New Japan," "The Old Religion," " A New Religion," and "Baptist Churches in Japan." The book ends with a ringing challenge for the young men and women of America to answer the call of God in meeting the present challenging opportunity for missions in Japan. Timely, readable, and intensely interesting, the book is one of the best brief presentations of the Christian task in Japan, with particular reference to Baptist work. It is the more appealing because written by a young convert, herself a splendid example of the power of the Gospel in Japan. H. C. Goerner

In the Direction of Dreams. By Violet Wood. Friendship Press, New York, 1949. x plus 163 pages. $1.50.

"In every community, state, and nation in the world there are situations calling for change . . ." "Today many young people are concerned about situations that separate individuals or groups, that compare unfavorably with what the Christian ideal of brotherhood ought to be. These young people are not only concerned, they are not only dreaming about something that somebody else might do, they are acting in the direction of their dreams. They have discovered that the common hours of a week-end, a week, a fortnight, a year, or even two or three years invested in volunteer service in communities cut at the creed line, at the color line, by railroad tracks can work magic—the kind of magic that co-operative Christian action, if given a chance can achieve anywhere."

This volume sets forth ten such situations of various types, describes them in vivid and realistic terms and, in a quite natural way, indicates the direction in which these efforts may stimulate and move somewhat in the direction of dreams of unity, co-operation and brotherhood for such a world as ought to be. A final chapter brings together in a most moving fashion the tragic need, the emotional urge "to do something about it," and arouses hope that with

genuine Christian attitudes and efforts much can be done in large way toward making dreams come true. The book seems to be motivated throughout by a saying of Thoreau: "If one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours." The situations here pictured represent various locations and conditions in the United States, in France and in Mexico. The projects exemplified have the backing of various Protestant denominations, and various inter-denominational organizations.

The author is very competent and skillful. This book is a work of art of high quality, a series of case studies in cooperation, an idealistic document of propaganda for transracial and superracial fellowship, and may be used as a documentary report in the field of social philosophy. An element of romance is introduced into the most of the chapters; an earnest effort seems to be made to produce a veridical report of actual doings and experiences. The combination of trends, tendencies, prejudices and ideals sometimes seems to be almost too complete and leaves something of a question as to how far the author may be reporting and how far she may be dreaming. In any event here is a little volume that is most fascinating and potentially of very high value. It is most earnestly recommended for wide reading and study. W. O. Carver

Manual of Woman's Missionary Union. Revised by Mary Christian from the original by Kathleen Mallory. Broadman Press, Nashville, 1949. 260 pages. Cloth $1.50. Paper $1.00.

The remarkable growth and significant organizational development of Woman's Missionary Union, Auxiliary to the Southern Baptist Convention, since the publication of the first Manual in 1917 has made imperative a revision and enlargement of this helpful handbook. The one chosen for the task, Miss Mary Christian, has exceptional qualifications, having taught W. M. U. methods in the W. M. U. Training School, served as a state W. M. U. young people's secretary, a state W. M. U. executive, a field representative

of Woman's Missionary Union, and as a church educational director. She also had the assistance and advice of a capable committee on revision, and of the various state W. M. U. secretaries. The result is a work which represents the best thinking and the most successful experience of the women of the Southern Baptist Convention on how to do effective work in the field of missionary education and promotion.

A copy of this book should be in the hands of every local president of a Woman's Missionary Society, and in the possession of circle members as far as possible. It will of course be taught to study groups in the churches at regular intervals. Pastors of Southern Baptist churches would do well to use it as a guide to a more sympathetic and accurate understanding of the ideals and programs of this highly important auxiliary. H. C. Goerner

The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809. By Maurice W. Armstrong. Published by The American Society of Church History, Hartford, Conn. 1948. 138 pages, plus index. Price not given.

This interesting and excellent work won the Brewer prize of the American Society of Church History. Every writer in the field will want it as a help in historiography. The story of the Nova Scotian revival centers in Henry Alline, whose character and methods throw bright light on the Great Awakening in all the colonies. Professor Armstrong (Ursinus College) brings in political and social conditions in New England as well as in Nova Scotia as background and these details are most pertinent and revealing. The relationship of Congregationalist (?) Alline and Baptist beginnings in Nova Scotia are well treated. Many Baptists will be especially interested in the questions of open communion and open membership which perplexed the colonial churches. The close relations between New England and the Maritime Provinces during these crucial colonial years will interest others. The examples of Great Awakening theology, sermon styles and hymns are very valuable. In short, if Christian history is one of your loves, get this book.

S. L. Stealey

Older People and the Church. By Paul B. Maves and J. Lennard Cedarleaf. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949. 272 pages. $2.50.

There is a rising tide of interest in the potentialities and problems of older people. Older people constitute an increasingly large group both in the community and in the churches. Based on the 1940 census, studies indicate that in the average community one out of every ten persons is sixty years or over. In spite of this, however, the older person continues to be misunderstood and too often neglected by the churches.

How seriously this group has been misunderstood is indicated in the popular notion that what these people desire most of all is physical security and comfort. Our homes for the aged have been built largely on this assumption. However, a recent study indicated that the basic desires of this group were to have the feeling of being loved and wanted and to be useful. This is significant and should be carefully considered in any program a church provides for this group.

This book is divided into four parts. Part I, "Aging and the Church." Here is one led to have a fresh appreciation and a deeper understanding of the aging process. Part II, "Pastoral Care of Older People." Part III, "Group Work With Older People." These two sections will be of practical assistance to the minister in developing a program that will minister adequately to this group. Part IV, "Social Resources and the Church." Welfare services, social security and retirement are discussed here.

"This book is the first comprehensive attempt to study the relationship of the Protestant churches to people over sixty years of age." The authors spent two full years in making this study. They have rendered a valuable service.

Findley Edge

Educational Psychology. By Robert A. Davis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948. 349 pages. $3.25.

This book is written primarily to serve as a text for those who desire an introduction to educational psychology. In Part I the author leads in a rather careful study of the pupil to be taught. This study is almost too technical for

an introductory course. Part II deals with the teaching or learning process. An excellent piece of work is done in this section. From the author's own experience and study the most practical problems that confront every teacher are dealt with helpfully. Findley Edge

Teaching Adults. By Edith T. Osteyee. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1948. 82 pages. No price.

This is a delightful little book. The teaching that is done in many adult Sunday School classes is exceedingly inadequate. The author takes the latest and best principles of teaching and applies them to an adult class. The result is very satisfying.

Written in conversational manner, the book is interesting reading. Every teacher of adults should read this book.

Findley Edge

Above All Nations. Edited by Devere Allen. New York: Harpers, 1949. 189 pages. $2.00.

Here is not just another book; it is an unusual book. It contains 200 true stories of "man's humanity to man" during the last war. It shows that "war is never total" and that men and women find a brotherhood which is "above all nations."

This book was first published in England in 1945. A group of British and German writers compiled a record of compassionate deeds reported from the battlefield. 60,000 copies of the English edition were sold.

The American edition, edited by Devere Allen, contains much fresh material assembled since the English book was issued. Stories involving Americans have been added.

This book is a thrilling account of how men rise above collective barbarism. It will encourage those who are pessimistic about the future. From a practical point of view, this book will provide the preacher or public speaker with a wealth of appealing illustrative stories. V. L. Stanfield

Federal Information Controls in Peacetime (The Reference Shelf, Vol. 20, No. 6). Compiled by Robert E. Summers. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1949. 301 pages. $1.50.

Every effort the National Government makes to control any phase of the public or private relationships of its citizens either immediately or ultimately has an effect upon free speech and unhampered distribution of information, both of which are essential to the preservation of our present order. Every public speaker who has failed to give serious thought to the problem of Federal Information Controls, and to the "drastic changes in thinking generally which the American people are undergoing" just now to make more controls possible, should benefit from a reading of this dynamic presentation of "the basic issues and the various implications involved." Charles A. McGlon

Elementary Teachers Guide to Free Curricular Materials. By John Guy Fowlkes and Donald A. Morgan. Randolph, Misconsin: Educators Progress Service. 1948 Edition. xii plus 208 pages. $4.50.

Of inestimable worth to Sunday School teachers, B.T.U. workers, and G.A. and R.A. leaders is this compilation of an unbelievable amount of free materials that can be used as teaching aids. Not only would a copy of the *Guide* in each church library make it easy for teachers to secure materials to vitalize their church and day-school work, but a perusal of it would also *stimulate* workers to *want* to secure such charts, maps, exhibits, educational transcriptions, plays, and the like as would be appropriate in the task of making all teaching a living experience. Charles A McGlon

The Bridge. By Arthur Wentworth Hewitt. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1948. 110 pages. $1.50.

Arthur Wentworth Hewitt is a popular writer, lecturer and preacher. Those who have read *Highland Shepherds, God's Back Pastures,* and *The Shepherders* will be glad to learn that another book has come from his pen.

The Bridge is an affirmation faith in God and His ultimate triumph. Faith is the bridge which will help us to cross the rivers of despair, sorrow, and evil and reach God. To read this little book is to be strengthened.

The Creative Critic. By Carl H. Grabo. University of Chicago Press. $3.00.

This book was not written for ministers. It is concerned primarily with literary criticism and is addressed to writers and critics. However, the preacher will find in it not only an orientation to a new field of interest, but new light on the interpretation of literature, and in many chapters a stimulation of thought that will have to do in no superficial way with his preaching, such as the chapters on Unity, Multiplicity, the Novelist as Prophet, Creative Imagination, and Credulity.

A Dictionary of Illustrations. By Walter Baxendale. The Moody Press. $4.95.

This is a reprint of an old work. With an index of Scripture passages, a topical arrangement and a cross reference index it makes available more than 6000 illustrations, gathered from many sources. One notices among the contributions the names of many prominent English and American preachers of the nineteenth century and before.

Take Time. By R. L. Middleton. Abiungdon-Cokesbury. $1.50.

A book of meditations and messages for the devotional life. Each brief chapter begins with a scripture passage and a quotation from some preacher or poet or litterateur and usually contains some telling illustration of truth out of life. It is a worthwhile book.

Sermons of Goodwill. Edited by Guy E. Shipler. Association Press. $3.00.

A unique volume of sermons. Forty-eight sermons written by as many different preachers and delivered by radio by all sorts from the laity. It represents an effort of the *Churchman,* of which Dr. Shipler is the editor, to do two things: (1) to emphasize the need of a revolution rooted in the principles of religion applied to the social order; (2) to get the attention of people who do not ordinarily listen to preachers. The forty-eight sermons were chosen from a great number that were submitted.

A World to Change. By Howard P. Bogarth. Christian Education Press. $1.50.

A Subtitle, "Sermons Round the Year" indicates sermons that are appropriate for the great days in the Christian year. They are well conceived and written, with a dual emphasis upon the development of inner religious strength and the reconstruction of society.

From the Cross to His Ascension. By A. P. Thomas, 1747 Deer Park, Louisville, Ky., 25c.

A 28-page booklet principally attempting to follow Jesus' activities as a spirit after the crucifixion until he rose from the dead. Whether many of the scriptures quoted are applicable is very doubtful.

Songs from the Land of Dawn. By Toyohiko Kagawa and other Japanese Poets. Interpretation by Lois J. Erickson. Friendship Press, New York, 1949. 80 pages. Decorative paper. $1.50.

A truly lovely little book of verse, ideal for a gift, especially for the sick or discouraged. In brief, sonnet-like, typically Japanese form the highest aspirations of the soul are expressed. There is hope for Japan as long as her sons can write poetry like this. There is a message that America needs in these pages.

Was Peter A Pope? By Julius R. Mantey. Moody Press, 153 Institute Place, Chicago. 64 pages. $.50.

A fairly deep refutation of the claims of the bishop of Rome.

Comics, Radio, Movies—and Children. By Josette Frank. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1949. 32 pages. 20 cents.

A Primer of Old Testament Text Criticism. By D. R. Ap-Thomas. London: The Epworth Press, 1947. 41 pages.

This book brings together the elementary materials for Old Testament Textual Criticism. It is simple, yet thorough. A knowledge of Hebrew is not necessary for an understanding of the first five chapters. In the last chapter on "Types of Error in the Masoretic Text" a knowledge of the essentials of Hebrew is essential.

The Theology of Psalm VIII. By Conrad Louis. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, Inc., 1946 201 pages. $2.25.

This is a dissertation which was submitted to the Catholic University of America. It is a study of the traditions of the text, and the theological import. It is a thorough work on the text, its interpretations, its use in the Old Testament and down to Modern Times. The author has made use of all major works on the Psalms and many minor ones. It is distinctly Catholic.

Adult Education for Homemaking. By L. Belle Pollard. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947. 194 pages. $2.75.

This volume is a revision of an earlier book, "Adult Education in Homemaking," published in 1937. The author seeks to point out how a community educational program may be conducted with proper homemaking as its objective. The book is written from the viewpoint of secular education.

The Language of World War II. Compiled by Marjorie Taylor. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. Revised and Enlarged Edition, 1948. 265 pages. $3.00.

An alphabetized compilation of abbreviations, captions, quotations, slogans, titles, and other terms and phrases that originated during the period of World War II. Of interest primarily to speakers who would "keep the common touch," and to researchers in language origins and derivations.

Ladies With Lamps. A Drama in One Act. By Marion Wefer. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson Company, 1948. 26 pages. 70c.

A highly emotional short drama, but appropriate for church-group production. Set in the ward of a children's hospital, and dealing with the conflict between a young, understanding nurse and a stiff, thwarted, uncompromising assistant superintendent—between love and law. Easy to stage, but would require at least two women and one man of ability and training in dramatics to make an impressive presentation.

Living Literature for Oral Interpretation. By Moiree Compere. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. xii plus 451 pages. $3.00.

Here is an excellent collection of poems, short stories, and cuttings from other types of literature, chosen for suitability for oral reading. A major contribution of the author is the discussion and demonstration of the techniques of cutting selections so as to make them more appropriate, or more timely, readings according to the edmands of the audience and the occasion. There is also a well-annotated bibliography that will be of real help to one who tries to "keep posted" on good literature for oral reading.

The Peanut Man. The Story of George Washington Carver. By Harry Albus. Wm. B. Eerdman Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1948. 89 pages. $1.00.

This "junior biography" of George Washington Carver, the great Negro scientist who died in 1943, is told in simple language, slanted for boys and girls, yet so appealing that the reviewer read it through at a sitting, unable to put it down. The spiritual greatness of the man is emphasized even more than his amazing achievements in the realm of chemical research. A good book for church libraries; a wise gift for youth.

How Personalities Grow. By Helen Schachter. Bloomington, Ind., McKnight and McKnight, 1949. $3.00.

This book is a valuable volume that may be used as a pastoral aid in counseling with young people of high school and junior college age. The developmental idea of personality is discussed from the point of view of the gradual emergence of "needs" the fulfillment of which all people strive. Adolescent Christians tend to think of their troubles in terms of controlling themselves, but this book shifts the emphasis wisely to the need for a wise and mature expression of needs in which the young person "uses" his life energies rather than to bury them as only an unprofitable servant would.

Wayne E. Oates

Storm of Dancerwood. By Joseph E. Chepperfield. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $3.00.

A beautiful book for any lover of dogs and wild animals. The description of the West Country of England with its change of seasons and its inhabitants of fin, fur and feather is almost poetry. Storm is an exceptional dog and his story is told with beauty and understanding.

Every Day Religion. By Don Delano Tullis. Winona Lake, Indiana: The Rodeheaver, Hall-Mack Company. $1.00.

Here are thirty-one articles which Dr. Tullis syndicated through the North American Newspaper Alliance. With each article an appropriate hymn appears with text and tune. These sermonettes awaken the imagination and inspire better living.

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